Routes to tour in Germany

The Nibelungen Route



German roads will get you there – to the Odenwald woods, for instance, where events in the Nibelungen saga, the mediaeval German heroic epic, are said to have taken place. Sagas may have little basis in reality, but these woods about 30 miles south of Frankfurt could well have witnessed gaiety and tragedy in days gone by. In Worms, on the left bank of the Rhine, people lived 5,000 years ago. From the 5th century AD the kings of Burgundy held court there, going hunting in the Odenwald.

With a little imagination you can feel yourself taken back into the past and its tales and exploits. Drive from Wertheim on the Main via Miltenberg and Amorbach to Michelstadt, with its 15th century half-timbered *Rathaus*. Cross the Rhine after Bensheim and take a look at the 11th to 12th century Romanesque basilica in Worms.

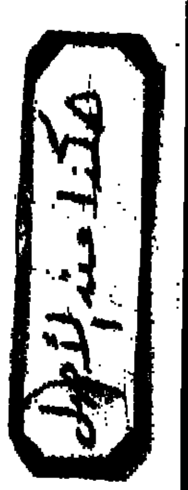
Visit Germany and let the Nibelungen Route be your guide.



1 The Hagen Monument in Worms
2 Miltenberg
3 Odenwald
4 Michelstadt
5 Wertheim







The German Tribune

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Complex role of Grenada in Havana's game

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Europeans should look at their own record before using Grenada as a pretext for fashionable anti-Americanism.

The curse of centuries lies on the Caribbean, an area nowadays associated mainly with luxury cruises. Germans should not kid themselves that they are the most blameless of the major European nations.

When Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, was unable to repay the people of Wels an election campaign loan he authorised them instead to ship slaves from Africa to the Caribbean: 4,000 in one lot and 5,000 in another.

The Germans played their part in the crimes associated with sugar and slavery that have left their mark on the Caribbean to this day.

Alexander von Humboldt forecast in the early 19th century a revolution leading to a Cuban-led Afro-Caribbean federation.

That is exactly what has been taking shape for the past eight years. Cuba is able to rely, in its bid for regional hegemony, on the features Humboldt observed.

The Cubans still feel themselves to be a nation of mulattoes with firm African roots that entitle it to take the lead among islands with populations that are even blacker.

The Panama Canal has brought about a fundamental change in the geopolitics of the region. Before it was built the situation was entirely different.

For the 49ers who took part in the Californian gold rush over a century ago Valparaiso in southern Chile was the base on which they relied for supplies of food.

The Panama Canal made shipping goods by sea so much cheaper that much of America's coast-to-coast freight went via the Caribbean.

That, then, is the paradox. A major US domestic trade route runs via the Panama Canal. Any threat to its safety sounds an immediate alarm.

Or so it ought to be. But since Cuba, the United States has been unable to restore a satisfactory state of affairs, and experts feel nothing can be done to remedy matters for some time.

If Cuba had left it at that, a fairly peaceful status quo might have arisen. But after trying its hand, with varying degrees of success, at subversion in Latin America, Havana began in the 1970s to play its black African card in the Caribbean.

This was the period in which Cuban troops were sent even further afield: to Angola and, significantly, Africa.

For a while it looked as though Humboldt's forecast might yet come true under a Communist Cuba. Jamaica under Michael Manley established very close ties with Havana.

Belize looked promising. Then there was Guyana. But above all, Maurice Bishop in Grenada came closest to the idea of an engaging revolutionary in the Caribbean.

Belize and Guyana are over 2,500 miles apart. So in geostrategic terms the Afro-Caribbean axis has an importance that is hard to assess in advance but is certainly out of all proportion to the number of people involved.

The population of Grenada is little more than that of a suburb of Frankfurt. But it was hard to say what the idea behind the runway for long-haul aircraft was that has been under construction on the island for years.

The Cuban construction workers returned the fire of the occupying forces,

Continued on page 2

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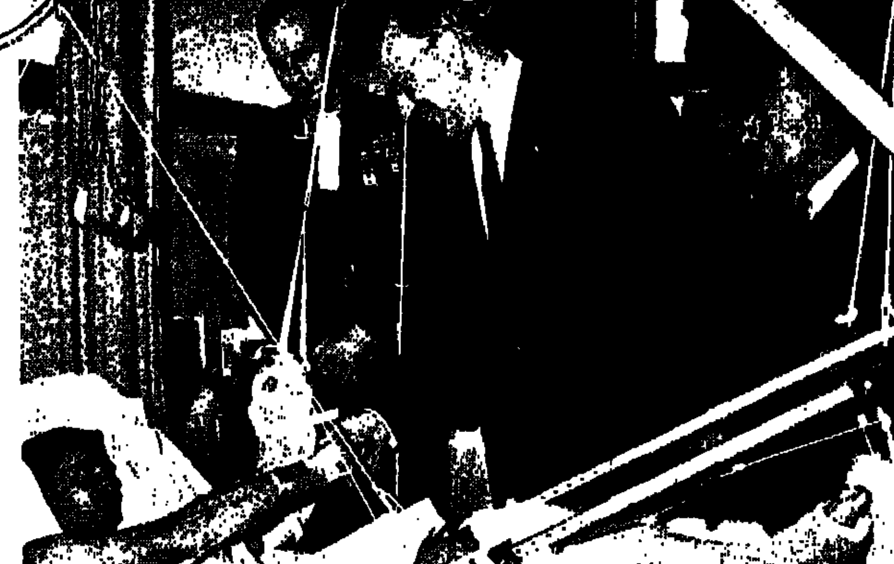
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New drying-out treatment for alcoholics



Chancellor comforts a marine

Chancellor Helmut Kohl talks to an American victim of the Beirut bombing attacks that left more than 200 French and American soldiers dead and many more injured. Sergeant Steven Russel was one of about 50 wounded evacuated to the American military hospital in Wiesbaden. (Photo: dpa)

Nato decides to scrap part of battlefield nuclear arsenal

Nato is willing to scrap about 2,000 of its 6,000-odd short-range tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

This was decided by the nuclear planning group meeting in Ottawa.

There are no conditions on this decision, which must not be underestimated.

Even if missile modernisation were to go ahead in full, the Geneva talks were to get nowhere and all 572 Pershing 2s and Cruise missiles were to be deployed in Europe, there would still be a balance of 1,400 tactical nuclear weapons unilaterally scrapped.

That at least has in no way been changed by the Soviet announcement that if the West goes ahead with missile modernisation it will deploy new short-range missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

This reaction was only what Nato had been expecting, as was the further statement that Moscow would then break off the Geneva INF talks on medium-range missiles.

For one, Western intelligence agencies have reported since about 1981 Soviet preparations to deploy the new short-range missiles, the SS-21, 22 and 23.

For another, Nato is expecting the Geneva talks not to break down completely but at the most to be interrupted for a few months.

Yet the Ottawa gathering failed to convey the atmosphere of celebration it was originally intended to put across. Grenada was the reason, and not the only one.

Differences of opinion between the United States and other Nato countries arose during talks in the high-level group on how many short-range missiles, anti-aircraft missiles and, say, nuclear mines were to be scrapped.

The Europeans initially wanted to scrap about 2,500, the Americans only 1,500 tactical nuclear weapons. The figure arrived at, 2,000, is probably a compromise between them.

The dispute between Europe and America on how many short-range nuclear weapons are necessary for deter-

Continued on page 2

A Caribbean conundrum

Opposition to the US invasion of Grenada is widespread in Europe. Foreign policy cooperation between the EEC Ten and Nato faces a fresh test.

Grenada is a party to the Lomé Convention, by the terms of which 63 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries maintain special ties with the European Community.

It is also a member of the British Commonwealth. So the Ten face a choice between solidarity with an ACP, or Lomé, partner and solidarity with the United States.

A majority of 63 ACP countries, led by Zimbabwe as a member of the UN Security Council, is opposed to the United States.

Western Europe in the shape of the EEC faces a foreign policy challenge of major proportions because the terms of a third Lomé convention are under negotiation with 65 developing countries.

They amount to a numerical majority of the Third World, and Europe cannot afford to be indifferent to military intervention against one of its ACP partners.

The European Community stands to forfeit credibility in the Third World unless it comes out in public against such intervention.

The security policy aspect must not, of course, be disregarded. America protects Western Europe.

There is an increasingly vocal body of US opinion opposed to constant and repeated US military commitments in other parts of the world, and even in America's own back yard.

A policy of Atlantic crisis management is more badly needed than ever.

Hermann Bohle

(Bremer Nachrichten, 27 October 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Russians drop a bombshell in middle of the peace movement

Only two days after mass rallies by the peace movement in Germany and other Nato states, Moscow did something unexpected.

The Soviet Defence Ministry announced that new missiles were to be based in the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

This was a response to deployment of US missiles in Western Europe.

The Russians ignored the feeling widely shared in the peace movement that Nato is solely or mainly to blame for the arms race.

They cannot have made life easier for those in the peace movement who are convinced the threat of war comes mainly from the West.

Moscow's response was to demonstrate in no uncertain terms its ability to deploy a rocket and a half or more for every missile Nato felt emboldened to set up.

Soviet leaders are guided by the needs and interests of the Soviet Union, and that is part of what makes them predictable.

SüddeutscheZeitung

At the moment Soviet requirements in this context are over the Geneva Euromissile talks, what shape the final round of talks takes and who is to be blamed if they break down.

Who is to blame is important, at least for appearance's sake and for public opinion in the West. It is also important for the negotiating position of the superpowers should they want to carry on with their talks on arms control.

These, then, were considerations the Soviet announcement bore in mind. There was to be no haste and no exaggeration.

The Soviet moves will be made at the same time as the Geneva talks break down presuming they do) and the deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles gets under way.

A geographical limitation is imposed by the choice of short-range Soviet missiles, but they are clearly only the first move.

The choice of the GDR and Czechoslovakia makes it seem likely they are missiles of the kind in use at division and army level in the Warsaw Pact since the 1960s.

They would thus be in line for replacement by more up-to-date missiles, probably SS-21s and SS-23s, with ranges of between 75 and 300 miles.

Modernisation has long been planned and has already begun in the GDR, and in more peaceful times than the present would have led to criticism.

But now the new missiles can be claimed as a counter-measure to US missile deployment and a defensive measure to maintain the balance of power.

Yet modernisation of Soviet short-range missiles in no way adds to the military threat to Western Europe. The threat has long existed and has been greatly heightened by the deployment of SS-20s.

All the new Soviet missiles can be expected to achieve is to add to awareness that whatever happens, even a zero option, the Federal Republic would still be within striking distance for short-range Soviet missiles.

That is not a result of the ill-will of either the Russians or the Americans. It is a result of the Second World War, which ended with the border between East and West running from one end of Germany to the other.

The Soviet announcement that missile modernisation is to be undertaken in a sector in which arms limitations neither apply nor are being negotiated is unlikely to be intended to recall this fact.

It is probably intended to establish favourable psychological and military conditions for the final round of Geneva talks.

The Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers, meeting in Sofia, have offered to continue the Geneva talks provided Nato postpones missile modernisation.

Mr Gromyko, in his Vienna talks with Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher, was not prepared to commit the Kremlin to not allowing the talks to break down entirely.

Moscow now plans to go ahead with Soviet missile modernisation following the initial build-up that prompted Nato to reach its 1979 dual-track decision.

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Josef Riedl...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 Octo...)

Grenada role

Continued from page 1

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Germans may feel the United States has over-reacted, but how would they react if there were a threat to their access to Berlin or to the North Sea ports?

The Americans were largely to blame in their day for the Cuban debacle and the ills of Central America. They were also very late in realising that it might be a good idea to coordinate with the Europeans what they were doing in the Caribbean.

Information is still slow in crossing the Atlantic, leaving the unpleasant impression that America has simply reverted to gunboat diplomacy of old.

There can be little doubt the Americans knew exactly what they were doing. They were unable to resist the temptation of a welcome opportunity to intervene.

The murder of Maurice Bishop may have deprived the revolutionary regime of legitimacy, but the United States still has much to answer for to democratic governments near and far.

Despite the hostile propaganda, of course, it is true to some extent that nothing succeeds like success.

The advance of Cuban-style revolution is still very much in progress in Central American. Washington has brought it to a halt for once.

So despite the misgivings voiced by US and foreign opinion, the Reagan administration's move may yet be covertly applauded.

Reactions in the region are more complex than they appear to be from afar.

Robert Held

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 October 1983)

Bonn, East Berlin, tread with care over common ground

The two German states are being very careful in relations with each other. Neither is represented at the Geneva talks but both are worried about the possible repercussions of missile modernisation and post-modernisation.

They are worried there might be such a deterioration in East-West ties that their special relationship, would be seriously affected.

That is why Erich Honecker's note warning that a fresh ice age might be imminent has been viewed in Bonn less as a threat than as an expression of anxiety.

Chancellor Kohl was careful to reply in cordial terms. Since neither letter is going to bring about the renunciation of fresh missiles, as everyone knows, it is the tone that makes the music.

The detail into which the two sides go, the care they take in their choice of words, and the avoidance of the slightest discordant or harsh note are more important than the appeal to the other side to dispense with missile modernisation.

To this extent the two states have indeed joined forces in a coalition of common sense, as called for by Herr Honecker.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Many West Germans have voiced their fears of fresh missiles by taking part in the peace rallies.

The GDR leaders have allowed a letter from Protestant congregations voicing consternation over further missile modernisation by the East to be published in *Neues Deutschland*, the official East Berlin newspaper.

The only point of allowing the letter to be published can be to demonstrate that the GDR leadership are really not interested in further escalation.

The two states have outlined their views on the issues at stake clearly and in tones of moderation.

Is progress possible over and above the endeavour not to upset the atmosphere in which the two sides are able to hold talks?

Some idea should be conveyed by the outcome of Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg's visit to the GDR. Herr Stoltenberg should be an extremely interesting person for the GDR to talk to.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 27 October 1983)

Nato weapons

Continued from page 1

rent purposes is due to the fa... these systems are theatre nuclear ... pons.

They are capable of making a n... war easier to wage — in Europe. Th... government evidently failed to sho... tact this point called for.

Hardly had this dispute seemed ... settled but the US invasion of Gr... was launched.

How else can the move be ... than as a demonstration of naked ... tary striving for power? How els... America's allies see it than as a ... sion to imperialist measures?

Grenada emerged as the main ... at Ottawa even though it was not ... cially on the agenda. Never in ... history have the Americans enco... ed such unanimous opposition a... this occasion.

How predictable is the US go... ment in its foreign policy? What m... might the Reagan administration ... feel emboldened to make, especially ... view of trends in Latin America?

The US administration is in the ... cess of plunging Nato into a serious ... sis. Predictability and credibility are ... tably lacking in the policies curre... pursued by the leading Western po...

It is up to Europe and Canada to ... a halt to Washington's present co... and to do so clearly. Otherwise they ... be running the risk of being relegat... the role of mere vassals.

Ulrich Macke...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 Octobe...)

The German Tribune

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HOME AFFAIRS

Protest marches: both sides sit back to look at the results

We can breathe a sigh of relief now the peace movement's week of ...test against the deployment of new ...S missiles is over. It failed to usher in ... hot autumn many had forecast and ...red.

Demonstrations were not accompani... by the sound of broken glass and ...ling sirens. Blockades didn't lead to ...cesses and violence. Rallies weren't ...rked by rioting and disorder.

The principle of non-violence to ...ich the peace movement was volubly ...mitted was upheld by a display of ...mirable discipline on the demonstra...s' part.

Frankfurt philosopher Jürgen Haber... ...s recently termed civil disobedience ... the kind practised by over a million ...monstrators during the anti-missile ...ek as the touchstone of the country's ...turity.

If the overwhelmingly peaceful and ...derly course of the demonstrations ...s any guide, the Federal Republic of ...ermany can fairly claim to have pass... the test with flying colours.

It was by no means bound to do so, ...pecially after stone-throwing during ... visit to Krefeld by US Vice-Presi...nt Bush and street fighting between ...quatters and the police in Berlin.

But both sides prepared for the week ... anti-missile demonstrations seriously ...d self-assuredly as never before, and ... preparations paid dividends.

Members of the peace movement in ...me cases spent weeks preparing for ...ecific protest moves, while the police ...owed admirable understanding for ... demonstrators' motives.

The West German peace movement ... no longer be denigrated, still less ...ssified as little short of criminal, in ... way it was by all and sundry before ... week of protest.

There may continue to be talk of vio...nce in the sense that the legal profes...n is given to regarding protest moves ...d blockades as violence.

This is clearly indicated by the latest ...mments on the subject by the chief ...tice of the Federal Constitutional ...urt, Ernst Benda.

But it will no longer be too easy to ...ssify and prosecute an act of civil dis...edience as a common crime.

Judges and public prosecutors who ...ntinue to do so are liable to be asked ...ether they are not subscribing to ...at Professor Habermas terms an au...oritarian legalism that is more of a ...rden on than a benefit to the rule of ...w.

The Federal Republic is undoubtedly ... the brink of an important process of ...ification on this point.

Conservative politicians such as ...nn Interior Minister Friedrich Zim...rmann and his parliamentary state ...retary Carl-Dieter Spranger will find ...eir arguments more difficult to subs...tiate too.

With reference to the hot autumn that ...s so far failed to materialise they ...ve turned back the wheel of libera...m and would dearly like to impose ...en more restrictions.

The words of warning spoken by Mi...sters and state secretaries in connec...n with the peace movement's activi...s are seen in retrospect to have been ...rly foolish.

The millions of people who took to the streets during peace week were not radicals or potential extremists for whom nothing but the threat of the big stick was appropriate.

They were ordinary people making use of their constitutional rights, even though they may have taken them to the extreme on occasion.

The legal precautions taken by Bonn and the constant appeals made by politicians showed yet again that many politicians still have a very limited concept of democracy.

It is one in which the responsible citizen only exists as a regulated individual ordered about by the authoritarian state.

It would be unfortunate indeed if the peaceful course of the week's demonstrations were not to make some people in Bonn reconsider.

There can no longer be any denying the peace movement that its autumn campaign was a success. What it organised was truly impressive.

It, and not the anti-nuclear campaign of the 1950s or the extra-parliamentary Opposition of the late 1960s, can now claim to be the largest protest movement in the history of the Federal Republic.

Yet it would be fateful if the peace movement were to infer from the number of people who took part that it represents a majority of public opinion, as one of its spokesmen, Jo Leinen, has done.

Such claims are not substantiated by references to the 50 or 75 per cent of people who have said in polls that they are against deploying new missiles either.

Opinion polls are no entitlement, and the peace movement would be ill advised to claim the sole right to represent its views and make its demands. In the wake of the week of protest there is greater risk than ever of the peace movement overestimating its importance. It remains to be seen whether it has peaked or, as some of its spokesmen claim, the autumn campaign was only the start. Such a marshalling of strength as the peace week called for cannot be repeated at will. At times during the week the campaign showed signs of exhaustion. Besides, this first week will be the yardstick by which the success of activities in November and December will be judged.



Human chain: anti-missiles protestors formed this 100-kilometre (70 miles) chain from the town of Neu-Ulm, a proposed missile site, to Stuttgart, where the American forces have a European command post. (Photo: AP)

Yet the peace movement is unlikely to fall apart at the seams after the week of demonstrations, regardless what some Bonn politicians may on the quiet be hoping.

That is not to say that parts of it may not crumble away. A serious burden could soon be imposed by clashes within the peace movement over relations with the Social Democrats.

This dispute has been given a voluble public airing by Petra Kelly, spokesperson for the Greens, who share the Opposition benches with the SPD in the Bonn Bundestag.

SPD leader Willy Brandt, who like Frau Kelly was a speaker at the final rally in Bonn, will likewise have noticed that integrating the peace movement within Social Democratic ranks is easier said than done.

There is a limit to which the SPD can adapt to others' views, and the peace movement and its political objectives have long gained independent status.

So both sides will be keen not to forfeit too much of their respective identities.

Heinz Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 October 1983)

Life after the missiles are deployed

Two positive experiences and a query arise from the peace movement's week of demonstrations in which an estimated three million Germans took to the streets.

They demonstrated in support of disarmament and against the deployment of new US missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany.

First, and despite the increasingly serious nature of the dispute over how external peace is to be preserved, domestic peace was not breached.

The political system of the second German republic has shown maturity in its ability to handle conflicts outside parliament.

Second, the old consensus on security policy is on the way out. There seems to be a change of mind extending beyond the peace week.

It is a change the government cannot afford to ignore in the long run, unless, that is, it is determined to return to the Opposition benches in the Bundestag.

The query is what will happen when the first missiles have been deployed and the Russians have quit the conference table.

The non-violence of the week of demonstrations was indeed, as Social Democrat Hans-Jochen Vogel put it, "a great step forward in the political culture of our democracy."

Politicians and officialdom were expecting the worst in view of memories of the 1968 extra-parliamentary Opposition.

Besides, both sides had made provocative statements that made tempers flare up beforehand.

Hotheads in the peace movement threatened to make the country ungovernable if missile modernisation went ahead and to oust the government and end the present set-up by holding a general strike.

Hotheads on the other side accused the peace movement of being a fifth column of Moscow's and an anti-peace movement and of practising social sabotage.

Verbal escalation was not followed by corresponding deeds. Never before has Germany witnessed such imaginative forms of protest.

The police have come to realise that it is not just a rerun of the 1968 unrest and that a new generation is having its say in a new way.

Not for nothing has Sir Richard Attenborough's Oscar-winning *Gandhi* been such a box office success this year.

The government is somewhat at a loss on how to deal with the phenomenon. Chancellor Kohl continues to argue that his election victory last March gave him a clear mandate in favour of the Nato dual-track decision.

But opinion polls invariably tell a different tale. About two Germans in three are in favour of the Federal Republic remaining in Nato, but an equal number are opposed to the deployment of medium-range US missiles in Germany.

In the long term this is a fact the Chancellor's Office will be unable to brush aside or ignore.

This brings us to the second point, the change of mind, which is arguably even more important.

Adenauer's policy toward the Soviet Union and other neighbouring countries to the east could not in the long run be reconciled with the wishes and needs of people in this country.

The same applies to the current security policy. Until a few years ago a majority of the public showed scant interest in Nato doctrines and the defence budget. Not any longer.

The change is due in part to the public debate in Washington on whether a limited nuclear war could be waged.

Germans grew keenly aware that members of the Reagan administration were referring not to Alaska or the Sahara but to nuclear hostilities in Europe.

This awareness has accelerated a change of which the most striking expression has been SPD leader Willy

Continued on page 8

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Russians drop a bombshell in middle of the peace movement

Only two days after mass rallies by the peace movement in Germany and other Nato states, Moscow did something unexpected.

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This was a response to deployment of US missiles in Western Europe.

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Süddeutsche Zeitung

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Who is to blame is important, at least for appearance's sake and for public opinion in the West. It is also important for the negotiating position of the superpowers should they want to carry on with their talks on arms control.

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Yet modernisation of Soviet short-range missiles in no way adds to the military threat to Western Europe. The threat has long existed and has been greatly heightened by the deployment of SS-20s.

All the new Soviet missiles can be expected to achieve is to add to awareness that whatever happens, even a zero option, the Federal Republic would still be within striking distance for short-range Soviet missiles.

That is not a result of the ill-will of either the Russians or the Americans. It is a result of the Second World War, which ended with the border between East and West running from one end of Germany to the other.

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Continued from page 1

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So despite the misgivings voiced by US and foreign opinion, the Reagan administration's move may yet be covertly applauded.

Reactions in the region are more complex than they appear to be from afar.

Robert Held

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 October 1983)

Bonn, East Berlin, tread with care over common ground

The two German states are being very careful in relations with each other. Neither is represented at the Geneva talks but both are worried about the possible repercussions of missile modernisation and post-modernisation.

They are worried there might be such a deterioration in East-West ties that their special relationship, would be seriously affected.

That is why Erich Honecker's note warning that a fresh ice age might be imminent has been viewed in Bonn less as a threat than as an expression of anxiety.

Chancellor Kohl was careful to reply in cordial terms. Since neither letter is going to bring about the renunciation of fresh missiles, as everyone knows, it is the tone that makes the music.

The detail into which the two sides go, the care they take in their choice of words, and the avoidance of the slightest discordant or harsh note are more important than the appeal to the other side to dispense with missile modernisation.

To this extent the two states have indeed joined forces in a coalition of common sense, as called for by Herr Honecker.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Many West Germans have voiced their fears of fresh missiles by taking part in the peace rallies.

The GDR leaders have allowed a letter from Protestant congregations voicing consternation over further missile modernisation by the East to be published in *Neues Deutschland*, the official East Berlin newspaper.

The only point of allowing the letter to be published can be to demonstrate that the GDR leadership are really not interested in further escalation.

The two states have outlined their views on the issues at stake clearly and in tones of moderation.

Is progress possible over and above the endeavour not to upset the atmosphere in which the two sides are able to hold talks?

Some idea should be conveyed by the outcome of Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg's visit to the GDR. Herr Stoltenberg should be an extremely interesting person for the GDR to talk to.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 27 October 1983)

Nato weapons

Continued from page 1

rent purposes is due to the fa... these systems are theatre nuclear ... pons.

They are capable of making a n... war easier to wage — in Europe. Th... government evidently failed to sh... tact this point called for.

Hardly had this dispute seemed ... settled but the US invasion of Gr... was launched.

How else can the move be ... than as a demonstration of naked ... tary striving for power? How els... America's allies see it than as a ... sion to imperialist measures?

Grenada emerged as the main ... at Ottawa even though it was no... cially on the agenda. Never in ... history have the Americans enco... ed such unanimous opposition a... this occasion.

How predictable is the US go... ment in its foreign policy? What ... might the Reagan administration ... feel emboldened to make, especi... view of trends in Latin America?

The US administration is in the ... cess of plunging Nato into a serio... sis. Predictability and credibility ar... tably lacking in the policies cu... pursued by the leading Western po...

It is up to Europe and Canada to ... a halt to Washington's present co... and to do so clearly. Otherwise they ... be running the risk of being relega... the role of mere vassals.

Ulrich Macke...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 Octob...)

The German Tribune

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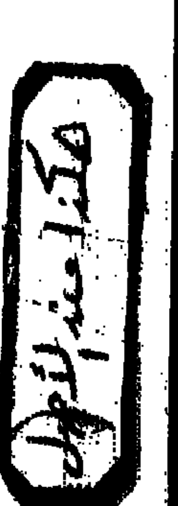
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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Protest marches: both sides sit back to look at the results

We can breathe a sigh of relief now the peace movement's week of protest against the deployment of new US missiles is over. It failed to usher in the hot autumn many had forecast and ...ed.

Demonstrations were not accompanied by the sound of broken glass and ...ing sirens. Blockades didn't lead to ...sses and violence. Rallies weren't ...ked by rioting and disorder.

The principle of non-violence to which the peace movement was volubly committed was upheld by a display of admirable discipline on the demonstrators' part.

Frankfurt philosopher Jürgen Habermas recently termed civil disobedience of the kind practised by over a million demonstrators during the anti-missile week as the touchstone of the country's maturity.

If the overwhelmingly peaceful and orderly course of the demonstrations is any guide, the Federal Republic of Germany can fairly claim to have passed the test with flying colours.

It was by no means bound to do so, especially after stone-throwing during the visit to Krefeld by US Vice-President Bush and street fighting between squatters and the police in Berlin.

But both sides prepared for the week of anti-missile demonstrations seriously and self-assuredly as never before, and the preparations paid dividends.

Members of the peace movement in some cases spent weeks preparing for specific protest moves, while the police showed admirable understanding for the demonstrators' motives.

The West German peace movement can no longer be denigrated, still less classified as little short of criminal, in the way it was by all and sundry before the week of protest.

There may continue to be talk of violence in the sense that the legal profession is given to regarding protest moves and blockades as violence.

This is clearly indicated by the latest comments on the subject by the chief justice of the Federal Constitutional Court, Ernst Benda.

But it will no longer be too easy to classify and prosecute an act of civil disobedience as a common crime.

Judges and public prosecutors who continue to do so are liable to be asked whether they are "not" subscribing to what Professor Habermas terms an authoritarian legalism that is more of a burden on than a benefit to the rule of law.

The Federal Republic is undoubtedly on the brink of an important process of clarification on this point.

Conservative politicians such as Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann and his parliamentary state secretary Carl-Dieter Spranger will find their arguments more difficult to substantiate too.

With reference to the hot autumn that has so far failed to materialise they have turned back the wheel of liberalism and would dearly like to impose even more restrictions.

The words of warning spoken by Ministers and state secretaries in connection with the peace movement's activities are seen in retrospect to have been fairly foolish.

The millions of people who took to the streets during peace week were not radicals or potential extremists for whom nothing but the threat of the big stick was appropriate.

They were ordinary people making use of their constitutional rights, even though they may have taken them to the extreme on occasion.

The legal precautions taken by Bonn and the constant appeals made by politicians showed yet again that many politicians still have a very limited concept of democracy.

It is one in which the responsible citizen only exists as a regulated individual ordered about by the authoritarian state.

It would be unfortunate indeed if the peaceful course of the week's demonstrations were not to make some people in Bonn reconsider.

There can no longer be any denying the peace movement that its autumn campaign was a success. What it organised was truly impressive.

It, and not the anti-nuclear campaign of the 1950s or the extra-parliamentary Opposition of the late 1960s, can now claim to be the largest protest movement in the history of the Federal Republic.

Yet it would be fateful if the peace movement were to infer from the number of people who took part that it represents a majority of public opinion, as one of its spokesmen, Jo Leinen, has done.

Such claims are not substantiated by references to the 50 or 75 per cent of people who have said in polls that they are against deploying new missiles either.

Opinion polls are no entitlement, and the peace movement would be ill advised to claim the sole right to represent its views and make its demands. In the wake of the week of protest there is greater risk than ever of the peace movement overestimating its importance. It remains to be seen whether it has peaked or, as some of its spokesmen claim, the autumn campaign was only the start. Such a marshalling of strength as the peace week called for cannot be repeated at will. At times during the week the campaign showed signs of exhaustion. Besides, this first week will be the yardstick by which the success of activities in November and December will be judged.



Human chain: anti-missiles protestors formed this 100-kilometre (70 miles) chain from the town of Neu-Ulm, a proposed missile site, to Stuttgart, where the American forces have a European command post. (Photo: AP)

Yet the peace movement is unlikely to fall apart at the seams after the week of demonstrations, regardless what some Bonn politicians may on the quiet be hoping.

That is not to say that parts of it may not crumble away. A serious burden could soon be imposed by clashes within the peace movement over relations with the Social Democrats.

This dispute has been given a voluble public airing by Petra Kelly, spokesperson for the Greens, who share the Opposition benches with the SPD in the Bonn Bundestag.

SPD leader Willy Brandt, who like Frau Kelly was a speaker at the final rally in Bonn, will likewise have noticed that integrating the peace movement within Social Democratic ranks is easier said than done.

There is a limit to which the SPD can adapt to others' views, and the peace movement and its political objectives have long gained independent status.

So both sides will be keen not to forfeit too much of their respective identities.

Heinz Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 October 1983)

Life after the missiles are deployed

Two positive experiences and a query arise from the peace movement's week of demonstrations in which an estimated three million Germans took to the streets.

They demonstrated in support of disarmament and against the deployment of new US missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany.

First, and despite the increasingly serious nature of the dispute over how external peace is to be preserved, domestic peace was not breached.

The political system of the second German republic has shown maturity in its ability to handle conflicts outside parliament.

Second, the old consensus on security policy is on the way out. There seems to be a change of mind extending beyond the peace week.

It is a change the government cannot afford to ignore in the long run, unless, that is, it is determined to return to the Opposition benches in the Bundestag.

The query is what will happen when the first missiles have been deployed and the Russians have quit the conference table.

The non-violence of the week of demonstrations was indeed, as Social Democrat Hans-Jochen Vogel put it, "a great step forward in the political culture of our democracy."

Politicians and officialdom were expecting the worst in view of memories of the 1968 extra-parliamentary Opposition.

Besides, both sides had made provocative statements that made tempers flare up beforehand.

Hotheads in the peace movement threatened to make the country ungovernable if missile modernisation went ahead and to oust the government and end the present set-up by holding a general strike.

Hotheads on the other side accused the peace movement of being a fifth column of Moscow's and an anti-peace movement and of practising social sabotage.

Verbal escalation was not followed by corresponding deeds. Never before has Germany witnessed such imaginative forms of protest.

The police have come to realise that it is not just a rerun of the 1968 unrest and that a new generation is having its say in a new way.

Not for nothing has Sir Richard Attenborough's Oscar-winning *Gandhi* been such a box office success this year.

The government is somewhat at a loss on how to deal with the phenomenon. Chancellor Kohl continues to argue that his election victory last March gave him a clear mandate in favour of the Nato dual-track decision.

But opinion polls invariably tell a different tale. About two Germans in three are in favour of the Federal Republic remaining in Nato, but an equal number are opposed to the deployment of medium-range US missiles in Germany.

In the long term this is a fact the Chancellor's Office will be unable to brush aside or ignore.

This brings us to the second point, the change of mind, which is arguably even more important.

Adenauer's policy toward the Soviet Union and other neighbouring countries to the east could not in the long run be reconciled with the wishes and needs of people in this country.

The same applies to the current security policy. Until a few years ago a majority of the public showed scant interest in Nato doctrines and the defence budget. Not any longer.

The change is due in part to the public debate in Washington on whether a limited nuclear war could be waged.

Germans grew keenly aware that members of the Reagan administration were referring not to Alaska or the Sahara but to nuclear hostilities in Europe.

This awareness has accelerated a change of which the most striking expression has been SPD leader Willy

Continued on page 8

■ SECURITY

Bonn defence white paper says war is not imminent

There is no imminent danger of war in Europe, the Bonn government's newly-published defence white paper says.

But with the Warsaw Pact steadily gaining military superiority, Western Europe is increasingly liable to be subjected to political pressure.

Failing an appropriate counterweight, a situation could arise in which Nato countries in Europe were no longer able to withstand such pressure.

They could then be blackmailed, the white paper argues. Entitled Peace in Freedom, it contains five main chapter headings.

They are: 1. The Situation of the Federal Republic of Germany; 2. The Threat; 3. The Atlantic Alliance; 4. Nato Strategy; and 5. Arms Control and Disarmament.

The central topic is Nato's strategy to prevent war in connection with the pact's security policy and, as a major aspect of security policy, the arms control negotiations.

The aim is to ensure equal security for all European countries with as low a military profile as possible, combined with developing cooperation with the East.

Special mention is made of the commitment to reunification, of Nato membership and equally firm commitment to the Western alliance and of the principle of balance of power.

"It is," the white paper says, "a policy that has to prevail against the Soviet Union, a great power keen to gain political control over Europe by means of military superiority."

The hopes that were placed in arms control in the 1970s are said not to have been fulfilled, with the Soviet arms build-up being to blame.

The Bonn government and its allies have made constructive proposals for a reduction in the number of weapons on both sides.

But the Soviet Union has been clearly told that arms control and disarmament are not available at any price.

There can be no question of jeopardising one's own security, none of forfeiting political independence and none of jeopardising peace in freedom.

Concession needed

There is time until the end of 1983 in which to iron out the remaining difficulties at the INF talks in Geneva, and there are prospects of the two sides coming to terms on an interim agreement.

But if the Geneva talks are to achieve results the Soviet Union must abandon its demand for British and French nuclear systems to be included in the missile count.

Moscow must come to terms with the fact that Western European countries have the same right to security as the Soviet Union.

Progress in general can only be made in Geneva if Nato stands firm on the dual-track missiles-and-talks decision.

The countries where Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles (and the Pershing 2 is *not* a first-strike weapon) must reaffirm

Saarbrücker Zeitung

their determination to go ahead if the Geneva talks fail to achieve results.

In the circumstances it would be irresponsible to delay stationing if the missile talks have made no headway by mid-November.

The possibility of war breaking out by virtue of a technical hitch or by mistake can be ruled out, the white paper says. There is a wide range of checks to make sure it never happens.

As for the global balance of power, the Soviet Union has attained parity in strategic nuclear systems and even has the edge over the West in land-based ICBMs.

At the same time the Soviet Union has emerged as a great naval power.

Regionally, and in the shadow of the strategic nuclear balance, the Soviet Union is said to have built up a medium-range potential against which Nato has nothing comparable to offer.

In short-range nuclear weapon systems. The Warsaw Pact is enhancing its numerical superiority over Nato by introducing the SS-21, 22 and 23 missiles, a new generation and a clear improvement in quality over their predecessors.

These short-range missiles cannot be claimed as a response to missile modernisation by the West.

The white paper says effective Western defence is possible, with the Bundeswehr playing an important part in it.

Given the Warsaw Pact's superiority, conventional defence capacity calls for a high level of training, equipment and armament, not to mention readiness to commit manpower and material.

If defence preparedness is to be achieved in time, it will be cruciallly important to put the advance warning period to good use.

This applies in particular to political and military decisions on troop build-ups and reinforcement of allied forces in Europe, including troops airlifted from the United States.

Warning period, strength of existing units, mobilisation and logistical support are factors that must be coordinated so as to make defence preparedness near the border possible with forces available before an attack begins.

Forward defensive capacity is determined in the final analysis by available manpower and material reserves.

As for Germany's defence contribution, the Federal Republic is said to be the only Nato member-country to have assigned all its troops except the territorial units to Nato command in peacetime.

There are 36 Bundeswehr [...] and six territorial brigades. The[...] up 50 per cent of Nato land [...] Central Europe.

They also account for 50 per [...] the pact's ground-to-air defence [...]ty and 30 per cent of its [...] strength in this sector.

On its northern flank the Bundeswehr maintains a third of Nato's E[...] naval forces, including 70 per [...] Nato naval strength in the B[...] 100 per cent of fleet air arm cap[...]

Bonn's defence spending in [...] sessed in terms of Nato crite[...] total DM58.95bn.

The white paper stresses the [...]tance of the forward defence [...] It entails defending Nato terri[...] near the border as possible wit[...] to surrendering no terrain.

Population spread

Thirty per cent of the popula[...] the Federal Republic lives w[...] 100km of the intra-German bor[...] zone that also accounts for 25 per [...] of the country's industry.

This being so, there can be no [...] native to forward defence as far [...] Federal Republic is concerned.

The Bundeswehr is equipped [...] modern weapon systems to enable [...] defend the country successfully. [...] new systems have improved conv[...] nal fighting strength substantially.

In this context the white paper [...] tions the Leopard Mk 2 tank, the [...] nado multi-role combat aircraft a[...] 122-class frigate.

Helmut Be[...]

(Saarbrucker Zeitung, 21 Octo[...])

Bonn has ruled out postponement of missile modernisation and any idea of dispensing with theatre nuclear weapons in Europe.

Battlefield atom weapons 'here to stay'

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner has uncompromisingly rejected "all so-called alternative strategy models."

All alternative concepts, he told a Bundestag hearing in Bonn, entailed greater risks to peace in freedom than the existing Nato doctrine of flexible response did.

So, for the foreseeable future, the present doctrine seemed the best way to prevent war. But as time went by it naturally had to be "adjusted" to changing circumstances.

Such adjustments included boosting conventional defence capability and reducing the number of short-range tactical nuclear weapons deployed.

Karsten Voigt, the SPD Bundestag MP, has called for missile modernisation to be postponed, combined with calling on Moscow to start scrapping SS-20 systems.

Herr Wörner said that the Soviet Union, despite unilateral and prior concessions by the West, had constantly kept up its arms build-up in recent years.

Since the December 1979 dual-track Nato decision it had had four years in which to contribute toward preventing further upward spirals in the arms race.

Further delays could end up with Nato no longer being able to guarantee a defence capability. To abandon the missile modernisation part of the dual-track decision would end any incentive for the Soviet Union to cut back on its arms build-up.

The West could not dispense entirely with theatre nuclear weapons, Herr Wörner said. Conventional weapons were not a fully adequate substitute.

He mentioned the fact that funds were limited and that manpower too would be limited in the 1990s because of low birth-rate years due to oral contraception.

No government could afford to conventionalise defence. The economic and social sacrifices the public would have to make would be too great.

Besides, dispensing with nuclear weapons in Europa would split Nato down the middle. The United States would then be on its own in running the risk of stationing nuclear weapons.

That was why he was opposed to ideas of a nuclear-free zone in Europe.

All known alternatives, he said, amounted to a strategic withdrawal from parts of the Federal Republic to gain time and regroup in the event of an attack.

Thirty per cent of the population and a quarter of the country's industrial potential were within 100 km of the intra-German border.

So there was no alternative to forward defence as close to the border as possible.

He rejected proposals by General Gert Bastian (retd.), the Green MP, for a militia system as an interim solution prior to withdrawal from Nato and a system of "social defence of active non-violent resistance."

Such ideas, he said, were an impracticable means of offering resistance [...] enemy equipped with tanks and [...] advanced and mobile units.

Besides, the "social defence" co[...] was based on the assumption th[...] enemy was first allowed to co[...] one's territory.

Nato's strategic aim was to pr[...] war of any kind. Dispensing with [...] clear weapons would tend to make [...] East feel more readily disposed to [...] ploit its conventional superiority.

Bonn's aim was to raise the nu[...] threshold by strengthening conve[...] nal defences.

Social Democrat Erwin Horn [...] said Nato strategy is in the throes [...] credibility crisis because the dete[...] effect of threatening to commit sui[...] as Christian Democrat Kurt Biedenk[...] puts it, no longer convinces the publ[...]

That, Herr Wörner said, was p[...] because the situation and the facts [...] which strategy was based had not b[...] sufficiently put across to the public [...] SPD-led governments.

Social Democrats at the Bundes[...] hearing were strongly critical of [...] Christian and Free Democratic [...] government for, as they put it, al[...] totally eliminating the concept of de[...]te from official usage.

The hearing was held at the behest [...] the SPD and is to be resumed in N[...]vember when a number of extra-pa[...]mentary experts will be heard.

As far as can be judged by their [...] ten submissions to date, most will be [...] favour of gradually modifying the fle[...]ble response strategy, with the empha[...] on boosting conventional capacity.

But a small minority favours re[...] defence by means of Bundeswehr [...] reorganised on militia lines.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 Octobe[...])

[T]HE THIRD WORLD

EEC accused over Lomé Convention agreement

[Di]sappointment among ACP coun[t]ries is growing over cooperation [arr]angements with the EEC.

[A]CP countries (African, Caribbean, [Paci]fic) are negotiating in Luxembourg [deta]ils of the next Lomé Convention, [whi]ch governs cooperation between the [...] groups. But it is doubtful whether [the n]ew Convention will be ready for [signa]ture by the autumn of 1984.

[T]he economic position of most ACP [coun]tries is worse today than it was ten [year]s ago, says the group's chairman, [Bots]wana's Foreign Minister Archibald [Mo]gwe.

[T]he beginning of the talks was mark[e]d by accusations and demands level[led] by him at the EEC.

[H]e says, the previous conventions have [achi]eved little. They were Yaounde I [and] II, 1964-69 and 1970-75 respectively [wit]h 17 African states plus Madagascar, [and] Lomé I covering 1976 to 1980 plus [Lom]é II since 1981 which includes 46 [A]CP countries.

[T]he EEC rejects these sweeping accu[sati]ons. It points to the fact that the [nu]mber of Third World parties to the [Con]vention has risen to 63 and that the [Ca]ribbean island group St Christopher [and] Nevis along with Angola and Mo[zam]bique have applied for membership.

[The] fact that they are now taking part in [the] current talks is seen by the Commu[nity] as evidence of the Convention's at[trac]tiveness.

The representatives of the ten EEC [me]mber nations and the Brussels Com[mis]sion stick to their contention that [they] have made many concessions to the [AC]P partners in the current Lomé II [Con]vention (named after the capital of [Tog]o where it was signed in October [197]9 for a five-year period). The EC lists [the]se concessions:

- Financial assistance worth more [tha]n DM14bn for technical and agricul[tura]l development. Half of this is non-[rep]ayable and the rest has been granted [in] the form of soft long-term loans.
- Duty-free access to the EEC mar[ket] for 99.5 per cent of ACP products, [an]d preferential arrangements for the [...]
- Stabilisation of export earnings [(Sta]bex Fund) from 47 important agri[cu]ltural and some mineral commodities [(Sys]mex System).
- A special treaty in which the EEC [un]dertakes to buy an annual 1.3 million [tonne]s of sugar at EEC prices, which are [wel]l above world market.

[B]ut the ACP countries say these con[cess]ions are totally inadequate.

[T]hey say that the DM14bn, spread [ove]r five years and 63 recipient coun[trie]s, is too little to help remedy econo[mic] and social problems, reduce grow[ing] debt and help economic growth [wh]ich in many ACP countries lags be[hin]d the population growth).

[T]he extent of these problems is shown [by] the fact that 22 of the 63 ACP coun[trie]s rank among the world's least de[vel]oped nations.

[T]rade between the EEC and the ACP [cou]ntries has risen considerably in the [las]t decade in monetary value. But EEC [ex]ports to the ACP countries have risen [mo]re steeply than imports.

[O]verall EEC imports and those from [...] developing countries in general have [rise]n more steeply than imports from the ACP nations.

The ACP countries say that the duty-free access to the Community market is not the most important factor because their shipments to the Community are increasingly hampered by non-tariff obstacles.

The EEC recently had to concede that the rise in ACP exports to the community had fallen short of expectations "despite the near complete openness of the EEC market."

Only a small number of ACP countries "benefited greatly" from the Convention while the position of the majority — especially the poorest countries of Africa — has deteriorated, the EEC admits.

The Community also admits that the Stabex system introduced with the first Lomé Convention did not develop the way the ACP partners had hoped.

Stabex was designed as a safety net against poor commodity years.

If the export earnings from an important commodity — coffee, cocoa, peanuts, tea, sisal — decline against the previous year's average (because of poor harvests, natural disasters or falling prices on world markets) the Stabex Fund offsets the losses. This is usually repayable except in the case of the 35 least developed countries.

The Lomé I Stabex Fund of DM1bn spread over five years was still sufficient.

But the number of applications for offset payments has risen steeply since 1980 and the present DM1.4bn Fund for Lomé II is far from enough to meet all claims.

It is therefore not surprising that the ACP delegates call for a considerable boost of the overall financial aid in Lomé III.

EEC partners

(ACP states)

States in Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific (ACP States) with which the EEC has agreements on trade and industrial cooperation and financial aid (Treaty of Lomé

Cape Verde Islands, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad, Sudan, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Upper Volta, Nigeria, Djibouti, Somalia, Ethiopia, Central African Republic, Benin, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Cameroun, Congo Brazzaville, Sao Tomé, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Uganda, Kenya, Ruanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zaire, The Seychelles, Comoro Islands, Madagascar, Mauritius, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho

Caribbean: Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St Lucia, Surinam, St Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago.

Pacific: Fiji Islands, Western Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Tuvalu, Solomon Islands, Tonga Islands, Kiribati, Vanuatu

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The EEC is putting up stiff resistance to the demand for additional money.

The Brussels Commission, negotiating on behalf of the ten member nations, has been given rather vague guidelines by the Council of Ministers.

The financially hard pressed Community nations are reluctant to let themselves be pinned down in terms of figures.

Even the duration of Lomé III is a hotly disputed topic. Some want it to be five years again. Others, including EEC Development Aid Commissioner Edgar Pisani, favour an unlimited period.

The ACP countries are rather disappointed over the fact that the EEC's concept has not progressed much beyond such slogans as "bettering what has been achieved so far."

An ACP delegate: "Whenever we speak of money, the EEC speaks of strategies."

For instance, the EEC stresses the necessity of giving agricultural development absolute priority in Lomé III.

A cohesive food strategy is aimed at gradually enabling the ACP countries to become self-sufficient.

Still, the EEC concedes that continued cooperation is in both its own and the ACP countries' interest and that the developing nations are not supplicants.

Their raw materials are of major importance for the future of the Community's industry.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 14 October 1983)

A new deal for Latin America worked out

Relations between the European Community and Latin America are to be put on a new footing.

The European Parliament has hammered out a concept, welcomed by the Brussels Commission, for a "cohesive economic, financial and development cooperation."

The countries of Central and South America are by and large still white spots on the Community's map of foreign relations.

Unlike with the Asean and ACP countries, there are virtually no coordinated ties between the EEC and Latin America. Only with the Comecon countries are relations equally poor.

Cooperation agreements exist only with Mexico and Brazil. But the Federal Republic of Germany has traditionally had close ties with Brazil. It has a bilateral cooperation agreement with it.

But these agreements have not led to concrete results, says German Euro-MP Jochen van Arssen (CDU).

Apart from specialised sectors, there are no regional agreements whatsoever and the trade balance sheet has worsened.

The 25 Latin American countries' share in the Community's overall foreign trade declined has rapidly in the last few years and is now stagnating.

This has prompted the Europarliament to seize the initiative without legal authority.

Both sides are prepared to make a new start. The Latin American countries have even said that they are willing to create a common executive body that would be able to negotiate with the EEC Council of Ministers on its own level.

Van Arssen has described this as a "political sensation."

His recommendation of a four-phase plan has met with almost unanimous approval by both the Europarliament and the EEC Commission. The plan calls for:

- A framework agreement between the European Community and the *Sistema Economico Latino-Americano* (Sela), a Latin American economic organisation. Sela includes almost all Latin American countries, including Cuba,
- The conclusion of regional agreements. Here, the Andes Pact plays a major role. Its member nations — Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador — are ready to sign a cooperation agreement. The EC suspended the negotiations when Bolivia's military seized power in 1980. It is now prepared to arrive at a swift conclusion because Bolivia has returned to democracy.
- Bilateral agreements modelled on those with Brazil and Mexico. As part of the other agreements, these, it is hoped, could be instilled with life despite the negative experiences so far.
- Agreements on such important sectors as energy.

Van Arssen warned in the Europarliament debate: "We must not expect too much. Our Latin American friends sometimes think that the European Community is enormously rich and that it could solve their problems from one day to the next. It can't."

Despite poor relations, it is Europe rather than the USA that is the biggest investor in Latin America.

Investment protection is a priority wish of German investors.

Though one of the aims of the Europarliament's Latin America initiative was to make the region less dependent on the USA, the EEC does not want to push its concept through against America.

The van Arssen report lists many instruments and concrete aims for closer cooperation. Among them are the establishment of a Euro-Latin American bank, an institute for Latin American contacts and the expansion of the Community's most favoured nation system to include the truly poor countries of Latin America.

Ulrich Lüke

(Die Welt, 20 October 1983)

■ THE TRADE UNIONS

Contrasting personalities to head the print workers

Mannheimer Morgen

The paper and print workers' union, IG Druck und Papier, has two new leaders. Erwin Ferlemann, 53, takes over as chairman from Leonhard Mahlein, who is retiring.

Detlev Hensche, 45, the chief ideologue of the left wing, comes in as a second deputy. The other deputy chairman is executive board member Heinz Müller.

Ferlemann and Hensche differ widely in personality and background. Ferlemann says he is a "tough unionist. "He has worked his way through the ranks and tends to be unobtrusive rather than spectacular.

Hensche came to the union from an academic career. He has many followers but, it appears, not a majority.

The second deputy chairman post was specially created for him as a sort of consolation.

Mahlein's speech, in which he attacked the other member-unions of the trades union federation (DGB) as being too lax has given Ferlemann immediate problems.

He realises that the printers union with its 146,000 members cannot achieve the 35-hour work week aim on its own.

But he has given no indication as to how he intends to improve cooperation with the other unions.

Instead, he spoke of "critical solidarity" with the other, larger, unions. This seems to indicate that the printers union will remain on the extreme left wing of the DGB.

Ferlemann, was born in Wuppertal and completed his business apprenticeship but later became a diemaker.

He became an honorary worker on the union's executive board in 1962. In 1969, he was appointed head of the business and technology department.

For seven years he has been in charge of collective bargaining, with grassroots backing.

Together with Mahlein, he was a tough negotiator but his tone was more conciliatory and less emotional than Mahlein's.

Hensche, 45, a doctor of law, is uncompromising and ideologically trained. As deputy chairman he will be in charge of collective bargaining.

He sold his father's business in Wuppertal in 1976 and became the editor-in-chief of the union magazine *Druck und Papier*.

His tough articles earned him the reputation of a "left-wing spearhead" in his union.

He does not stop short of attacking the system and has repeatedly and eloquently called for a general strike against missile deployment.

He once tersely said that if the economic system cannot provide sufficient apprenticeships it must be replaced.

Hensche's new post means that future disputes will be marked by a man whose experience was not gathered as a worker. His approach is that of a theoretician.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 20 October 1983)

Long tradition

IG Druck und Papier is Germany's second-oldest labour organisation. Only the tobacco workers of the North Sea ports can look back on a longer union tradition.

The printers organised themselves in 1866 in a bid for better working conditions.

In 1873, they formed the DeutscherBuchdruckerverband (DBV) or German bookprinters association, the forerunner of today's IG Druck und Papier.

DBV was the first German labour organisation to achieve a collective bargaining deal through industrial action.

The early labour movement saw this deal as "class betrayal."

Eighteen years later, the nation's 17,900 printers, who had meanwhile formed the "support society of German bookprinters," mounted their second industrial action. The aim this time was to achieve a nine-hour work day. They became the spearhead of the German union movement.

Today's printers union with its 143,000 members, including 7,000 members of the journalists union and 2,500 members of the writers association, is still committed to the old tradition.

But its importance has waned against the other and much larger unions.

Its 1952 strike against the new law governing labour-management relations was not backed by the other unions.

IG Druck und Papier was later ordered in a court ruling to pay damages.

Other costly actions were the 1976 strike for higher wages and the 1978 strike against "the use of new printing technologies at the expense of workers."

Wolfgang Bak

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 17 October 1983)



The old and the new. Erwin Ferlemann (left) the newly elected chairman of … und Papier, is congratulated by the retiring chairman, Leonhard Mahlein.

Daily time limit sought to work at computer screens

Printing and paper workers want work at computer terminals to be limited to 50 per cent of daily working hours.

The 280 delegates of the printing and paper workers' union, IG Druck und Papier, unanimously passed a motion to this effect at their congress in Nuremberg.

It was also agreed that pregnant women should not work at computer terminals because of the dangers from radiation.

Workers who did operate the terminals should have more breaks to lessen health risks.

A motion to introduce the 35-hour week gradually was defeated. The newly elected chairman, Detlev Hensche, said the speed of the introduction should not be laid down in congress resolutions.

The union has reaffirmed that it wants to form an overall media union by joining up with the artists union and the German journalists association.

The delegates approved, with only one vote against, the progress made so far. But they demanded that the executive board proceed faster than i[t] suggested.

Delegates want the merger achieved by the beginning of 198[5] at the latest.

During the discussion, the new [chair]man, Erwin Ferlemann, gave in [to the] majority wish and recommended [that an] additional motion be adopted: th[e] new media union must promote the [inte]rests of IG Druck und Papier m[ore] along the existing political lines.

In addition, the media union [must] promote "freedom of opinion [and in]formation and co-determination [for me]dia and cultural workers on all [levels] including collective bargaining."

The new union is also to pr[omote] changes in privately owned comm[ercial] media, an addendum to the origi[nal mo]tion states.

Weathering criticism from the [dele]gates, who saw no need for it, the [exe]cutive committee succeeded in intro[du]cing a passage to the effect that the [me]dia union would not curtail journ[alists'] and writers' freedom of opinion.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 October 1983)

Outgoing chief launches bitter attack on government

Leonhard Mahlein, retiring head of the paper and print workers' union IG Druck und Papier, has launched an unparalleled attack on the government.

Speaking at the union's congress in Nuremberg, he accused Bonn of dismantling the welfare rights of the working population.

The government was pursuing a policy against the interests of the workers and this should be massively resisted. The words resistance and struggle and variants of them dotted his speech.

Mahlein tried to portray the government as stooges of big business. What he said in essence, if not in the exact words, was that since the country was a welfare state under the Constitution, Bonn was in breach of the Constitution.

Many speakers at the conference presumed to speak for all workers when they attacked Chancellor Kohl's government.

Yet one does not need to be a supporter of the ruling coalition to put the union views into perspective.

The fact is that the government was elected by a democratic majority. Only one in three Germans belongs to one of the 17 trade unions making up the trades union federation (DGB). And many of those who are members voted for Kohl in March.

Mahlein considers it a euphemism to speak of a "social market economy." For him, the country is plainly and simply ruled by capitalism. And this capitalism. he says (quoting Otto Brenner), "has never made its peace with the workers, and hence the workers can never make peace with it."

Mahlein thinks and speaks in class struggle categories. This explains his call on all unions to form extra-parliamentary resistance groups.

The lack of logic leaves the printers' boss undaunted: He speaks of the government's "crowbar" policy agai[nst the] majority of the people.

Yet he sees no chance of a freely [elec]ted parliamentary majority that w[ould] be prepared to realise union dema[nds] which include co-determination, i[nvest]ment controls and nationalisation.

He wants to step up pressure fro[m the] street and the shop floor.

He repeatedly used variants of [the] terms "resistance" and "struggle." [He] depicted the rallying of the mass[es as] the most important element of orga[nised] labour's resistance to the governm[ent,] the parties and the state, which he [re]gards as a mere "formal shell."

There is something of a class [dia]logue in the way he differentiates [bet]ween the governing parties and [the] unions.

Is it really worth dealing with [Mah]lein's speech at such length? [The] 62-year-old leader is about to be re[plac]ed on the executive board and to re[tire.]

But his speech has isolated th[e rela]tively small printers union (14[6,000 ...]

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[T]HE ECONOMY

[C]ontradictory, [h]arsh report by institutes

[T]he government's austerity measures [a]re threatening to choke off Germa[n] economic recovery before it gets [off t]he ground, say the five leading eco[nomi]c institutes.

[In] their autumn report, which is not [o]nly too harsh but also in parts contra[dict]ory, the institutes say that instead of [dere]gulating to provide incentives, [Bonn] had only added to the red tape. [Sub]sidies were encouraging over-pro[duct]ion and inefficient production.

Doubts were spreading about the wis[do]m of government policies. It evident[ly l]acked the political strength to make [cour]se corrections.

However, the fact is that sections of [in]dustry in Germany are in serious [tro]uble. This limits sharply what econo[mi]c policy makers can do.

The institutes contradict themselves.

[T]he leading economic research insti[tu]tes forecast that in 1984:
GNP will grow two per cent;
Unemployment will peak in this win[ter] at 2.6 to 2.7 million;
The current account of the balance of [payments surplus] will be more than DM10bn in the [bla]ck;
Inflation will remain unchanged at [three] per cent;
The government's new borrowing will [go d]own DM12bn to DM43.5bn;
Exports will rise by four per cent;
Industrial capital investment will be [f]our per cent;
Employees' gross incomes will rise [...] per cent, business incomes 7.5 per [cent.]

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 25 October 1983)

[The]y confirm that the government has [been] successful beyond the expecta[tion]s of six months ago.

They say the budget deficit will next [year] drop markedly for the first time. [But] they are not prepared to accept this [as a] confidence-building measure.

In other years they had regarded this [kind] of trend in that way. Now they only [see] it as a factor that could suffocate recovery.

However, the institute says that in[vest]ments and exports will help the eco[nom]y next year. Industrial output, [whi]ch rose during the first months this [year] would continue to rise again now [the] summer holidays were over and [pro]duction was back into full swing.

View in the crystal ball 1983/84 — Protections in autumn report of the 5 economic institutes	1982	83	1984
Growth in %	-1,1	+1	+2
Unemployment in millions	1,83	2,3	2,4
Price increases in %	+5,3	+3	+3

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Profits were rising and improved sales were in sight.

This indicated that the improvement would continue next year.

But unemployment would also continue to rise next year. This year's increase would be 500,000. Next year the increase would be 100,000, from 2.3m to 2.4m.The increase would be much sharper but for the fact that many people would simply give up trying to find work. (People can draw dole for a year only. After that they are no longer counted as unemployed, although they may well draw social security money from other state sources).

Unemployment was growing because of inadequate growth. Growth was inadequate because Bonn had not delivered its promise to bring about economic change.

In a dissenting statement, the Berlin institute calls for additional spending programmes and oppose tax relief. But it doesn't say why the USA will in all likelihood have the industrial world's highest growth rate next year. America got its economy out of the doldrums by drastic tax reductions.

France, on the other hand, will have the lowest growth next year, despite massive spending programmes.

The institutes conceded that their spring forecast was grossly wrong. They predicted a three per cent drop in capital investments in the first half this year. Investments in fact rose by four per cent.

This makes one wonder how meaningful such forecasts are.

It is possible that the institutes' rejection of shorter working hours and the CDU/CSU's planned tax reform as a means of promoting their family affairs policy will have some effect.

It is also possible that the renewed criticism of the government's bureaucracy and its subsidies will influence the decision making processes.

But the latest report cannot serve as a compass for future economic policy. It is at best one of several aids to navigation.

Frank Eichhorn

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 October 1983)

Government policies: not a good job by the salesmen

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Bonn could have pleaded mitigating circumstances for its economic and social policy until now. It could have blamed everything on 13 years of SPD-FDP rule.

The oil crisis caused a world-wide recession that did not spare Germany. Only a super-politician could have made the change of political course bear fruit in six months.

But it is a year since the government took office and it should be clear by now whether it has done all it could to put the economy back on its feet.

There is a rare consensus in the assessment of the government. Everybody except perhaps a few staunch partisans agrees that Bonn has not done enough.

Now Germany's five most important economic research institutes have also confirmed that the government has not delivered.

Criticism from the Opposition can be disregarded. It is still too confused to be expected to come up with anything constructive.

What should make the government think is the scepticism in its own ranks.

Conservative campaign helpers in the last election have become jittery. They are asking themselves whether this is all the government intends to do to overcome the worst post-war economic crisis.

The programmes drafted in the new government's first few months were reasonably sound. Solving budget problem was given priority. This was followed by incentives for investment.

Other measures in the economic and social affairs sectors were to serve these two prime goals.

But the government was half-hearted and internal bickering did not inspire confidence.

Many people are not happy about the constant appeals to tighten belts. Nobody took the trouble to say exactly why.

What it boils down to is that the government spokesmen have been unable to sell Bonn's economic policy.

Cutbacks in social benefits are more easily accepted when you know their deeper meaning, and that is easily put across: The welfare state must be made affordable.

The citizen has also keenly registered that Bonn and the individual states have done little to reduce a major drain on their budgets: subsidies.

The conclusion he has drawn is that the conservatives and the FDP want to treat their supporters — industry — with kid gloves.

The kid glove treatment didn't pay off with business.

Industry had hoped that Bonn would be swifter in honouring its promise of tax relief and better economic framework conditions.

But Bonn delivered in dribs and drabs, leaving nobody happy.

The employees wing among Labour Minister Norbert Blüm's followers is disenchanted with the additional social security contributions. And the more right wing business lobby resents the slow reduction of non-profit related-taxes.

The report of the economic research institutes is in keeping with the general view: Bonn's economic policy so far has not been wrong. But it has been inadequate and half-hearted.

Their findings: the upturn was stronger than anticipated, and there would be a one per cent growth rate (adjusted for inflation) this year. But the upturn was too weak to reduce unemployment.

The three per cent inflation rate was rather low; the fiscal measures would result in the first marked reduction of the budget deficit next year.

Welcome though this is, it will put the brakes on the economy. And this would only be unhazardous if it inspired confidence that the government's economic policy would pave the way for more growth.

But this very confidence that would act as an economic locomotive has failed to materialise.

The report finds that the Bonn government lacks political vigour. It is time for Bonn to do something to dispel this impression. It cannot forever point to the legacy of the Schmidt-Genscher era.

Rudolf Herlt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 October 1983)

Something for everybody

Most people think that the autumn report by the five economic institutes supports their own views.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl says the report confirms that his government's policy course is correct and that the anticipated two per cent growth rate next year indicates a sustained upturn.

The FDP's economic affairs spokesman, Helmut Haussmann, says the report proves the essential correctness of the government's economic course and that this has led to a marked rise in capital investments.

The German trade union federation (DGB), on the other hand, speaks of a "sobering forecast" which confirms that those who rely on the recuperative forces of the market are prepared to accept a further rise in mass unemployment.

The opposition SPD's spokesman, Uwe Jens, describes the fight against unemployment as the main challenge in economic and fiscal policy.

The Greens' spokesman, Hubert Kleinert, says his party does not share the cautious optimism of the institutes. The institutes took the short-lived rise in industrial orders as a reason to join the government in its "faith healing incantations."

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 25 October 1983)

Continued from page 6

[mem]bers) even further on the extreme [left] of the DGB.

[T]here is one thing his fellow executive [boa]rd members of the other DGB [uni]ons will not forgive: he said that it [was] disquieting to see the indifference [wit]h which they accepted the stepped up [dism]antling of the welfare rights it had [take]n decades to achieve.

[B]ut Mahlein's speech not only received a standing ovation from the 281 del[ega]tes. It also met with approval in [som]e quarters of other unions, especial[ly] the IG Metall, the metalworkers [uni]on.

Print workers

Mahlein said organised labour could take the comfortable road of a quasi-public institution (here Mahlein presented a caricature of the more moderate union leaders) or it could opt for the "thorny road of an autonomous resistance organisation of the working class."

Strong minorities in IG Metall are prepared to take the second course. It is the biggest union in Germany.

Mahlein's speech was permeated with ideas he has in common with his executive board colleague Detlev Hensche — ideas that are regularly pushed in the union magazine *Druck und Papier*.

Hensche is seen as the most eloquent advocate of all organised labour left wingers.

He is also said to be the man behind plans to merge IG Druck and Papier with various unions representing other media workers into a grand media union.

It is hard to imagine that Hensche will find a majority among them.

Peter Diehl-Thiele

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 October 1983)

■ TECHNOLOGY

New Volkswagen Golf is a robot creation

Volkswagen's main plant in Wolfsburg is the world's largest single car-production plant.

The most popular Volkswagen, the Beetle, has sold more than any model in history: 20 million.

The Beetle's successor, the Golf, has sold well over six million units since its introduction in 1974.

But now it is ready to be phased out and the first of the new generation, Golf II, are rolling off the assembly line — almost untouched by human hand.

Golf II is almost entirely robot-made. The similarity between the two Golfs is superficial. The latest model is entirely new. The only thing it has in common with the original model is three of its six engine options.

It has cost DM2.1bn to develop, DM400m before production began and the remaining DM1.6bn for new plant and equipment. And of this DM1bn, was spent on building a brand new plant, Assembly Hall 54.

Why spend so much money on a car that is apparently only the younger brother of the original Golf?

The new design had to come up with more than just a more pleasing appearance, additional space and lower fuel consumption.

It had to be suitable for robot assembly from beginning to end — not only because robot production is cheaper but also because it is more accurate.

The results can now be seen in Hall 54 and the adjoining Hall 12 where production ends.

Hall 54 with its 120,000 square metres of two-storey floor area is where parts are assembled into modules.

The upper storey has the world's largest facility for the automatic mounting of the body.

The assembly and completion of the engine by robots, including the starter and the fanbelt, is done on the ground floor.

Other production lines complete the gear assembly. Among the robot-made parts are also the front with its radiator, lights, horn and many other parts.

Components assembled on the ground floor go to the upper storey where they are fitted by robots to the already sprayed body.

More than 300 screws must be inserted, a delicate job.

The work has to be precise because unless the one robot does its job well the next will fail.

The robots, all of them made by Volkswagen, still lack flexibility. So there are a few jobs in Hall 54 that have to be done by man.

They include assembling the cooling hoses and laying electrical cables.

Once the upper storey assembly work in Hall 54 has been completed, lifts take the cars to the ground floor for the finishing touches.

In the process, the cars undergo extensive automatic quality controls with very low tolerance levels.

It is not the buyer who demands this degree of precision but the robots whose work is not yet completed. Much of the work done by the robots in hidden and never seen by the buyer.

In the final stages of assembly, robots insert the fuel lines in a tunnel in the body and clip them into place.

The battery is also built in automatically. So is the brake system, the weirdly shaped plastic fuel tank (which has to fit into an oddly shaped place to save space) and the exhaust assembly.



The world of the robots: VW works at Wolfsburg. (Photo: V...

Robots screw the rear axle to the body.

The completely assembled front section has its lights mounted by robots. They also screw on the wheels according to programmed customers' wishes, automatically sorting out the ordered tyre sizes and flanges. Even the spare wheel as ordered is put in place.

The fact that there has been no layoffs is due to a buying boom which allows VW to use the redundant people elsewhere. It is also due to the thorough and long-term planning of the new Golf production.

But unlike with the start of production for other successful VW models, there was no new hiring for the Golf.

VW executives point to the fact that dirty and strenuous assembly line work — like overhead work — now falls away and that many jobs would be in jeopardy if robots did not help VW compete with Japanese carmakers.

There is no denying the fact that robots can help humanise work. The word "robot" comes from the Slavic word "rabota", which means servitude.

But the robot not only does away with unpleasant work. It also eliminates tolerable jobs.

But not having robots would destroy even more jobs.

Developments at VW are typical of automation in other industries.

As opposed to previous boom years, when industry usually boosted its labour force, now it is extremely cautious about hiring.

Hans-Helmut Bergemann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 14 October 1983)

Missiles

Continued from page 3

Brandt's no to deployment at the final rally.

Two years ago, when the first peace rally was held in Bonn, Social Democrats who took part were accused by SPD leaders of betraying Chancellor Schmidt.

The SPD's latest move could be the first step in the direction of an alternative security policy based on defensive weapons and a defensive doctrine.

So where do we go from here? For political parties the answer is clear. They must respond to the doubts felt by the general public and draw up alternative concepts.

Merely going ahead with the current doctrine is no longer enough, especially when it leads to the deployment of a weapon former US Defence Secretary Robert S. McNamara has said is militarily pointless.

The mere desire for peace may not be a policy, as Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss rightly says, but constant escalation of the arms race isn't one either.

The peace movement will need to prepare mentally for the day on which deployment begins. Weapons that are installed can be dismantled and even scrapped.

Neither resignation nor frustration, leading to violence, is in the interest of the change of mind that is the prerequisite for a new policy.

One can but warn against the political day-dreaming of those who have visions of a general strike despite the lessons of history.

Patience and the ability to bide one's time are essential, especially if the peace movement bears in mind that disarmament, as Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker put it, is without historical parallel.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 October 1983)

The advance ... the German ... mechanical m...

German research into indu... bots has caught up with for... search, says the Munich Patent O...

The rising number of new p... now almost equally divided b... German, Japanese and other (p... American and French) corpor... private inventors.

Attention in this rapidly ... technology is concentrated on th... pers and "wrists."

Sensors to enable the robot t... gnise and adapt to the item it is w... with are undergoing constant de... ment.

The wrists are now capable of ... ing around three axes, and th... grammed propulsion mechanism... the individual axes are being refi...

Inventors have also been activ... field of solar cells. But they ar... only on the threshold of major ... based use of this technology as an... native or additional energy sourc... Patent Office says.

In the field of traditional s... cells, where the proportion of Ge... patents is relatively high, the mai... is to reduce production costs w... endangering the achieved high ... of efficiency (ten per cent of the ab... ed energy).

This is to be achieved by thin ... or platelets. Some patents deal ... fully automated production.

Experts hope to achieve 65 per ... efficiency through what they cal... dem or cascade construction (... solar cells of different sens... arranged in a row).

American inventors are the le... patentors for such solar power st... intended for use in southern lat... where there is plenty of sun.

Despite the timeliness of anti-ai... lution inventions, the peak in this ... already seems to have been passed.

The Patent Office sees this as evi... ce of the extent to which invento... ahead of the market.

Only in the specialised field of ... mative exhaust purification has ... been an further rise in registration.

Efforts here are concentrated o... ters — especially for diesel engines ... that automatically incinerate the so... resulting in maintenance-free operat...

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 October ...)

...HE ENVIRONMENT

Rate of tree deaths is accelerating — minister

...ests in the Federal Republic of ...ermany are dying much faster than ...ht, says the Agriculture Ministry.

...r times as much woodland is ...as in autumn last year, says Agri...e Minister Ignaz Kiechle.

... latest comprehensive statistics ...led by the *Länder* show 2.5 mil...ectares, or 6.25 million acres, to be ... the new tree disease attributed ...y to atmospheric pollution.

...t is over a third of total woodland ... country. The hardest-hit areas are ...Bavarian and Baden-Württemberg ...ons of the Mittelgebirge range, with ...miles and miles of fir trees.

The most devastated parts of the ...ge are the Black Forest in the ...h-west and the mountains along the ...ern border of Bavaria.

...ut increasing damage is reported in ... Harz mountains, between Hanover ...d Göttingen, the Eggegebirge in east... Westphalia and in the Sauerland re...

Nearly 8 out of 10 fir trees are in ...ble: either suffering from serious or ...or damage. But spruce and pine ...s are increasingly affected too.

...In Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and ...th Rhine-Westphalia between 60 ... 70 per cent of pine trees have been ... Deciduous trees seem to be more re...ant.

The only deciduous tree to show clear ... of being pollution-hit is the beech.

Herr Kiechle says a comprehensive ...ey of the situation throughout the ...try is not yet possible, but he is ... alarmed at the dramatic deteriora...n in the condition of forest acreage in ...ingle year.

Forestry experts say the dry, hot summer has accelerated the process. The acreage of trees classified as seriously ill and largely doomed to die has nearly doubled since autumn 1982.

The trees that are particularly hard-hit seldom stand side by side. "Thank heavens the situation in this country isn't as depressing as it is in the Erzgebirge," Herr Kiechle says.

The Erzgebirge is in the neighbouring GDR, where it runs along the border with Czechoslovakia.

Forestry officials are taking care to fell dying trees as soon as possible and avoid quality losses caused by the spread of pests such as the bark beetle.

Herr Kiechle is confident that by using fertiliser in certain cases woodland can be revitalised, especially in areas low in nutrient.

"We must make use of every opportunity forestry provides of slowing down and alleviating the course of damage," he says.

Dead trees must be replaced by newly planted saplings as soon as possible, planting more deciduous trees wherever possible.

"Where woodland stands today," he says, "woodland must stand in 25 years' time."

The new pollution damage has been reported on a large scale since 1981, the Ministry report claims. The silver fir was the first tree to suffer; that was in the early 1970s.

By the end of the decade spruce trees showed increasing signs of being affected.

Experts are largely agreed that there is usually a combination of causes. Pollutants that may be to blame include sulphur dioxide, heavy metals, nitric oxides and photo-oxidants.

Others are frost, dryness, pests and silvicultural influences. But the experts are convinced the problem would not arise were it not for atmospheric pollution.

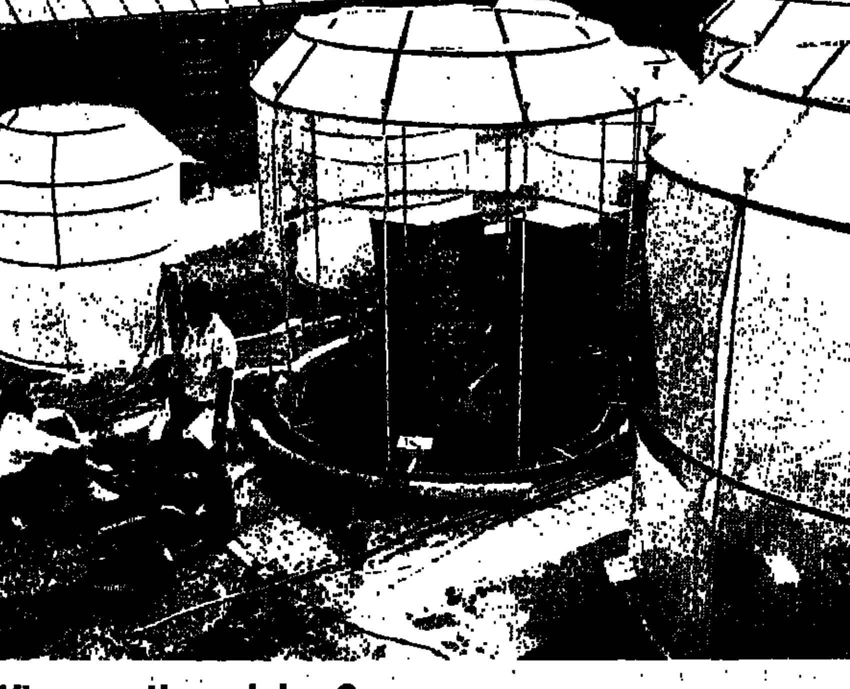
The percentages of woodland hit are, by *Land*, 12 in Schleswig-Holstein, 17 in Lower Saxony, 35 in North Rhine-Westphalia, 14 in Hesse, 23 in the Rhineland-Palatinate, 49 in Baden-Württemberg, 46 in Bavaria, 11 in the Saar.

The countrywide percentage is 34, and Volker Hauff, deputy leader of the SPD in the Bonn Bundestag, says Herr Kiechle's report is a scandal.

The Minister, he said, had named not a single specific measure to combat atmospheric pollution.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 19 October 1983)



Why are they dying?

Researchers at Hohenheim University, Stuttgart, use these transparent housings to simulate forest conditions in an attempt to find the causes of tree deaths. (Photo: dpa)

Acid rain 'not primary cause' of forest destruction

...cid rain, allegedly the scourge of ... German forests, has been probed by ...panel of experts appointed by VDI, ... German Engineering Association, in ...sseldorf.

"The study has shown," the report ...cludes, "that acid rain can be virtual...ruled out as a primary cause of trees ...ing."

Herr Prinz of the North Rhine-Westphalian ecological research establish...nt in Essen, the scientist in charge of ... project, was most emphatic at the ...sseldorf press conference held to ...k publication.

He said that to think solely in terms of ...d as the culprit was comparable with ... airline pilot scrapping all the instru...nts on board his Jumbo and relying ...ely on the elevator.

The findings of farmers and ecolo...ts, chemists and technicians, mathe...icians and biologists are contained ... a 277-page report.

They spent 18 months looking into the ...blem but failed to arrive at a solu...n. They confirmed a recognisable ...entific trend, however.

The increasingly widespread scientific ...w is that acid rain is only one of ...ny factors that pose a threat to na...e.

The panel's view on the public debate ... far is that research into the causes ...s, but for a handful of exceptions, ...en superficial, incomplete and aimed ... causing an ecological flutter.

In other words, the silent death of ...rman woodland is due to a wide range of causes, few of which are really known.

Acid rain is currently associated with three main cycles that are felt to bear the blame: the burden on the soil, direct damage to treetops and the effect of gases, including ozone.

VDI experts were not satisfied, arguing that other, as yet unknown factors in all probability played a part.

They made no attempt to dismiss as insignificant the damage done by sulphur dioxide, three and a half million tonnes of which per year are pumped into the atmosphere, mainly via coal-fired power station chimneys.

But they felt it was too simple to assume that sulphur dioxide, a gas, was precipitated as harmful sulphuric acid. Nature was more complex.

In keeping with the general tenor of current public debate, they pay keen attention to the role of nitric oxides, seemingly straightforward but in the final analysis extremely complex compounds consisting of nitrogen and oxygen.

The sulphur dioxide concentration in the atmosphere is said to have remained virtually unchanged over the past 10 years.

But the industrialised nations were pumping more and more nitric oxides into the atmosphere: three million tonnes a year in the Federal Republic alone.

Oddly enough, progress was to blame. With engines making steadily better use of fuel by improving combustion, exhaust fumes contained less carbon monoxide but more nitric oxides.

A combined total of over six million tonnes of sulphur dioxide and nitric oxides were joined, or so the VDI panel estimated, by one and a half million tonnes of hydrocarbons of one kind and another.

This mixture in the air we breathe, a VDI spokesman said, transformed the atmosphere into a gigantic chemicals factory.

But we had only a vague idea as to how it worked, what it produced and what price we paid for the resulting product.

Sulphuric and nitric acid rain down on the earth. Lethal ozone is formed in the atmosphere by the interaction of light and Sun.

These may be fine words in the environmental debate, but in scientific terms they are a drop in the ocean.

Thousands of other substances are newly created and released into the at-

Continued on page 11

Despair over timber damage

A Hesse forestry officer, Karl Friedrich Wentzel, told the Bundestag's home affairs committee that the forests of Central Europe face their worst crisis since reafforestation began 200 years ago.

"We are seriously worried what turn events will take next," the head of the German Forestry Industry Council, Alexander von Elbersfeld, told MPs.

He said over 34 per cent of the surface area of German forests was already damaged.

The committee was briefed in detail by experts from industry, the trade unions, environmental groups and scientifc research.

It was the first hearing of its kind, and MPs were informed at length on the extent and causes of trees dying and what could be done to stop the rot.

It was clear that trade union and environmental experts, landowners and forestry officials all felt that atmospheric pollution was mainly to blame.

Industrial experts warned against apportioning the blame too one-sidedly before the causes were absolutely clear.

Scientists suspect all manner of causes, with parts being played by the climate, by the nature of the soil and by parasites.

Industrial spokesmen opposed intensifying exhaust regulations at present. They were particularly opposed to proposed amendments to the regulations governing factory and power station chimneys.

Amendments are demanded by both Bonn Opposition parties, the Social Democrats and the Greens, and by the trade unions and landowners.

Unless exhaust fumes were drastically reduced, one speaker claimed, forestry subsidies in the decade ahead would exceed combined current expenditure on subsidies to coal, steel and shipbuilding.

Herr Wenzel, senior forestry director at the Hesse state environmental research establishment, said he had drawn attention to the catastrophic trend in a research project undertaken 30 years ago.

He had then left the Ruhr because no-one there had shown interest in his findings.

dpa

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 25 October 1983)

■ LANGUAGE

For translators, a place to exchange words

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Straelen, population 8000, is a small town near the Dutch border. Its nearest neighbour of any size is Venlo, seven miles south-west and in Holland.

Straelen is a prosperous centre of the flower trade. Since 1978 it has also been the home of the European College of Translators.

The college, launched on the initiative of Straelen-born Elmar Tophoven, is a unique rendezvous of literary translators from all over the world and the only institution of its kind in Europe.

Tophoven is the German translator of Samuel Beckett and modern French novelists ranging from Nathalie Sarraute to Claude Simon.

He knew from long personal experience that despite the existence of a professional organisation literary translators were totally dependent on the good will of their publishers.

This was partly because they lacked a centre to promote solidarity within their own ranks.

So he decided that peaceful, quiet Straelen, in the heart of Europe midway between Lisbon and Helsinki, to quote the blurb, was just the place for such a centre.

And he persuaded the local council, which was keen on the prestige, to back the idea. North Rhine-Westphalia, the *Land*, was persuaded too.

The college is currently run on a budget of between DM300,000 and DM400,000 which it hopes to increase tc half a million before long.

It is housed, for the time being, in a single building containing accommodation for visiting scholars, a library to which annual additions worth DM20,000 to DM30,000 are made, and a pair of computers, complete with their collection of floppy discs.

But the centre has made such a name for itself that extensions are planned. One aim is to rent a separate room for each language from which books are translated into German.

Translators from these various languages would then have all the tools of their trade at the ready.

Less widespread languages would, says the college's adroit and dynamic business manager Klaus Birkenhauer, share a room.

The grants the college is given are for the most part pegged to specific projects. They include a French edition of the works of Theodor Fontane and a set of special industrial dictionaries.

Two or three translators are invariably in residence. In return for the hospitality they are given they leave behind a fund of professional experience.

The centre sees one of its tasks as that of providing a reference service for terminology, but at present it lacks the staff needed to do the task justice.

It has no claims or ambitions to work as a research institute, but it arranges translation sessions in team work and files the findings for use by others.

The two computers are an invaluable aid that would be far too expensive for private individuals to buy and keep up.

Besides, at Straelen they and their 200 discs, each storing the equivalent of 120 pages of reference material, can be put to good use.

But discs, like tapes, are subject to wear and tear, so sooner or later the files will need to be published in book form. The Straelen translators envisage launching a publishing house of their own.

Two special glossaries have been compiled so far. One is a glossary of German prison slang compiled by a translator with "inside" knowledge.

Prison slang, he has discovered, is largely identical with the slang expressions favoured by young people, although it is too early to jump to conclusions.

Last year a glossary of Nazi terminology was compiled. its purpose is to record for generations that no longer have personal experience ot the Third Reich the key concepts of the period.

Straelen has been in existence for about five years, during which time roughly 50 events have been held, including encounters of translators from East and West.

The tangible results have included anthologies of modern Dutch, Swedish and Bulgarian poetry and a German translation of the Hungarian poet Sandor Csoóri.

Work is in progress on an anthology of avant-garde poetry from smaller European countries, such as Finland, *Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria* and Poland.

The Bertelsmann Foundation bankrolls further education seminars for translators.

The most recent seminar, held at the end of September, was attended by the half-dozen or so German translators from the Portuguese.

They considered how little-known Portuguese writing could best be promoted and made known to a wider public with the aid of the Portuguese Book Institute and the Portuguese bookshop in Frankfurt.

The college is a source of invaluable information for all translators. Freelance translators ply a trade that is as precarious as ever it was.

Germann copyright law is eyemplary, says Birkenhauer, but when translators are at loggerheads with their publishers the courts often know far too little on the subject.

So every contract signed with a publisher continues to be an act of submission that is used, more or less elegantly, to pull the wool over the translator's eyes.

But a social security fund for writers and artists has been set up in Wilhelmshaven. It collects contributions from employers and insures members inexpensively.

Places like Bad Godesberg, a suburb of Bonn, are viewed kindly as the home of many an ambitious young artist and writer who is seldom ill and helps to ensure that contributions are low.

The literary translators who earn the most money seem to be those who translate children's books and books written mainly for entertainment.

Translations of books with any pretensions to literary merit are not the road to riches.

Translators of highbrow books need to translate five pages a day (or eight in the case of a five-day week) to gross the 2,000 pages needed to earn the DM40,000 a year required to maintain a family of four.

That is clearly almost impossible, quite apart from the problem of keeping the contracts coming in at the rate required.

So the work of the Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort in Munich is of inestimable importance. It is an agency that scans the media to ensure that copyright fees are paid.

They are raised on lendings by public libraries, on readings on radio and TV and, of course, on reprints the copyright-holder might otherwise never come across.

The agency runs a welfare fund that lends unbureaucratic assistance to colleagues in need, and a swift helping hand is often needed by translators laid up in hospital for any length of time.

Translators have always been neglected, witness their relegation to the inside pages of the books they translate.

The college is keen to see them named on the title page alongside the original author's name. German readers, it argues, actually read Tophoven, not Beckett, Kroeber, not Calvino, and Meyer-Clason, not Márquez.

It depends of the translator's skill whether the artistic value of the original survives in translation.

So Straelen is determined to ensure that a profession which has long been subjected to discrimination is upgraded once and for all.

Georg Rudolf Lind

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 October 1983)

Top literary prize goes to Frankfurt writer

The German Academy of Language and Literature began its annual conference in Darmstadt with a three-day presidium debate on the language of the Bible.

But its annual awards were made to contemporary writers, the DM30,000 Georg Büchner Prize, for instance, going to Wolfdietrich Schnurre.

Schnurre, 63, is a Frankfurt-born writer who has been a member of the academy since 1959. He has written poems, satire, stories and children's books.

Last year he won the literature award of the city of Cologne.

The Johann Heinrich Merck Prize for literary criticism and essay-writing went to Albrecht Schöne, 58, president of the International Germanic Studies Association.

The Sigmund Freud Prize for scientific writing went to Cologne political scientist Peter Graf Kielmannsegg, 46. The two awards are each worth DM10,000.

The academy was set up on 28 August 1949 during the ceremony held in the Paulskirche, Frankfurt, to mark Goethe's birth bicentenary.

Its brief is to represent German writing at home and abroad and to encourage careful use of the German language in art and science, public and private.

Previous Büchner Prize-winners have included Carl Zuckmayer, Erich Kästner, Heinrich Böll and Martin Walser.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 October 1983)

A look at ho[w] the Bible i[s] written

Frankfurter Neue Pres[se]

The Language of the Bible ... Our Own Language? was th[e] ... debated at this year's conferen[ce] ... German Academy of Language ... terature in Darmstadt.

The answer depends. It depe[nds] ... instance, on what "our languag[e]" ... ken to mean. Standard received ... porary German?

Or is "our" to be understood ... ference to the reader and his ... tions of being able to understa[nd] ... he reads?

That would raise a number o[f] ... lems and, especially in the Bible ... they are by no means al linguisti[c] ...

The five experts were agreed ... assessment of the creative lingui[stic] ... played by Martin Luther as the G[erman] Bible translator.

Professors Barner, Ben C[horin], Heckmann, Lohfink and Steiner also agreed on the difficulties a ... porary Bible translator would ... German.

Luther's Bible was a uniform ... tion that laid the groundwork fo[r] ... dard German in its present form.

His style, his language and th[e] ... fluence, strongly apparent from G... to Brecht, are so powerful that the[y] ... been the yardstick by which ever[y] ... since written is judged.

Luther's command of his la[nguage] ... was problematic, Professor L... said. The Greek Bible is recogni[sed] ... collection of distinctive books, w... Luther's is linguistically uniform.

Yet the Bible was originally w... over a period of 1,000 years. The ... differ from the books of laws an[d] ... books of laws differ from the pro... The New Testament is different ...

That, said Professor Ben Chorin, ... why Buber and Rosenzweig had ... before the Third Reich to make a ... translation that would bring the ... closer to the original Hebrew.

In doing so they felt the need to ... new words in German. They sou[ght] ... provide an alternative to Luther's ... lation in a German comparable in ... fulness und power with the Germ[an] ... idealism and its roots, extending b... Meister Ekkehart.

Professor Steiner said he felt L[uther] ... had been very much at loggerhead[s] ... himself. The Reformer sensitiely ... to do the Hebrew text of the Old T[esta]ment and the ideas behind it justic[e], ... at the same time he was revolted b[y] ... Jews.

"If Luther's language went on ... come a basis of modern German ... said, "then this deep dissension ... forms part of German."

Asking what rights Germans ha[d] ... relation to the Old Testament, S... said: "If a dialogue is impossible, ... that remains is the decency of s... and the practice of recollection."

Yet Freud, Marx, Wittgenstein, K... and Benjamin continued to stand ... symbiosis of the German and the J[ew]ish.

Paul Celan had a possible answ[er] ... felt. His poems "melt like two lang[uages] ... in prophecy." His poetry supplied ... ding bricks for a future German ...

Continued on page 11

EDUCATION

A school tries to live down its blue-blood reputation

[Sa]lem school, in the Baden-Württem[b]erg town of Salem, was founded in ... by Prince Max of Baden and his ... secretary, Kurt Hahn.

... is still fighting the reputation of an expensive school for the rich. ... reputation was not dulled by the ... that Prince Philip, the Duke of ... burgh and a relative of Prince Max, ... student at Salem in 1934.

[Go]rdonstoun, in Scotland, where ... Philip's three sons were sent, was ... founded by Kurt Hahn.

[Sa]lem charges DM20,000 a year ... £5,000 or $7,700). So it is hardly ... rising to find that students are in ... mostly from wealthier families.

The principal, Dr Bernhard Bueb, ... this is because Germans don't like ... [boa]rding schools. He says that the aver[sion] ... is growing among poorer people.

[B]ut pupils are not all from wealthy ... [fa]milies. Parents who cannot pay the ... amount can apply for a reduction. ... pay a few hundred marks a ... [mon]th, depending on income, or no... [thin]g at all in some cases.

Sometimes, youth authorities pay the ... A third of the students are scholar[ship]-holders but 20 per cent of the ... [pare]nts pay more than they have to.

Salem is coeducational. It has 500 ... [stud]ents. It has never before had so ... [man]y.

[B]ueb says the school is booked out al... [thoug]h nation-wide the number of se[con]dary school pupils is dropping. ...?

... says the answer lies in the limita... of the modern-day family: "Since ... parents now have only one or two ... [chil]dren, today's child grows up in a ... -group which cannot teach him to ... [integ]rate in the overall structure of so[ciet]y."

The school relies on the school fees, a ... subsidy or DM400 a month plus ... [dona]tions from old pupils.

[Af]ter World War II the school provi[ded] free places for the children of resis[tance] fighters against Hitler. Most were [chil]dren of officers involved in the 20 [Jul]y 1944 attempted putsch and most ... from the nobility.

[In] the early years of Salem, Germany ... had plenty of aristocratic landow[ners], mostly in Pomerania and East [Pru]ssia, who liked Kurt Hahn's progressive methods and sent their children to his school. Money was no object.

The students of those years later sent their own children to Salem. So many names that have helped shape German history keep appearing on school lists.

This loyalty demonstrates students' strong emotional ties to the school.

Each year, former pupils turn out for a reunion. The big attendances and generous donations reflect this loyalty.

There is one decisive qualification for admittance to Salem, says Dr Bueb: the children must come of their own free will and must be prepared to become part of the community. Religion does not matter the school has no ties with any church. Kurt Hahn was a Jew.

Problem children are a rarity at Salem, he says. "It is not our function to rectify family or previous school problems. A boarding school needs students who have already been properly raised."

He regards children with a happy background as suited to boarding school life. For them, the boarding school is simply a continuation of family upbringing. Difficulties at home were usually experienced by only children; children far apart in age; girls in a family of boys, or vice versa; and exceptionally talented children.

Dr Bueb cites a former Salem student who later became a world-famous violinist. One of his children suffered at home because it was less musically talented than its siblings.

Scholarships do not depend on special performance or above-average qualifications. And only the relevant committee and the principal know which students have scholarships.

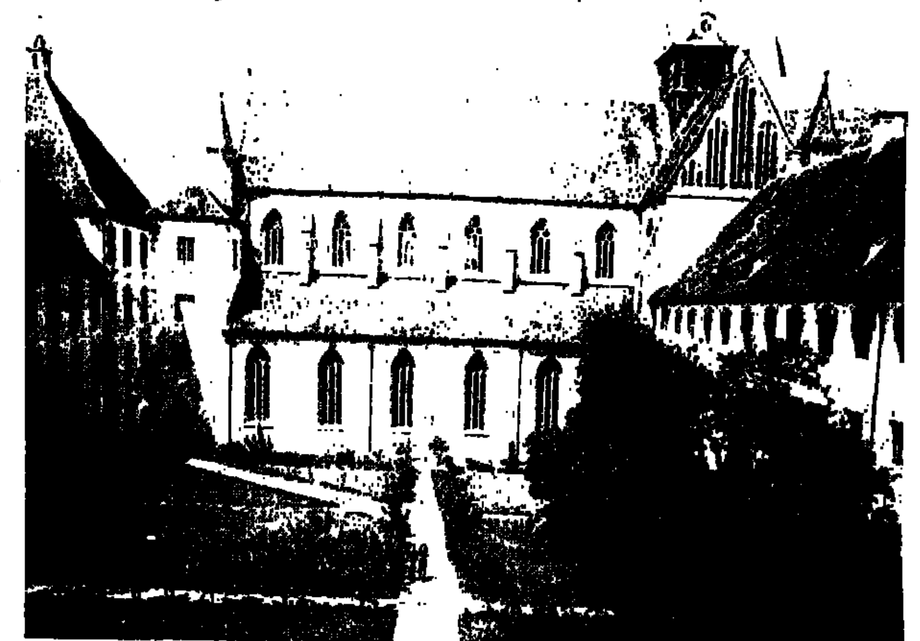
By the same token, parents' donations — no matter how large — won't keep a child that has to be expelled at school.

"We won't turn down a donation, but it won't keep a delinquent child at school. There's no such thing as graft," says Dr Bueb.

The school now houses some 500 boys and girls in its three buildings: Burg Hohenfels for the younger ones (5th to 8th graders), a former Cistercian Abbey for the middle grades and Spetzgart House for the seniors (12th and 13th graders).

Each house has a some independence and its own housemaster.

Classes are small, 20 or fewer, and three or four students share rather spartan living accommodation. They are looked after by tutors who provide something akin to family ties, assisted by "helpers" elected from the student body.



Salem has never been more popular. (Photo: tw)

Student co-responsibility is a watchword at Salem. It has led to an intricate parliamentary system of duties and responsibilities.

Everybody is supposed to hold some office as a political exercise.

Salem follows Baden-Württemberg curricula and promotion regulations, but as a private school it has a great deal of freedom to go by Hahn's maxim that "learning by doing" is more important than amassing knowledge.

The rigid doctrine has been softened now and there is more emphasis on scholastic achievement.

But the idea is to practise social attitudes and help one's fellow man. The services include a fire brigade, a technical assistance unit, paramedical and social work for the aged and the handicapped and, lately, environmental work.

The services are supervised by teachers but are headed by students called captains.

Many young people give these non-academic activities as their reason for wanting to go to Salem.

At least one afternoon a week must be devoted to the services. The whole thing is not a game but tough work with handicapped children, fire fighting and repairing bridges and old buildings.

There have also been some major efforts. Help was given during the 1981 earthquake in southern Italy, the 1971 oil slick on the Brittany coast and the 1962 flood in Florence.

This emphasis on the practical goes even further. The school "guilds" enable the youngsters to learn a craft such as wrought iron work, carpentry, cooking and maintenance.

The training takes the students to the interim examination level for journeymen. Those who want a regular apprenticeship are given credit for the initial training at Salem. Three-week training courses outside the school have now been made available.

Salem provides committed teachers with a wide range of educational opportunities. But the students are faced with the danger of being sent out into a world less ordered and tougher than boarding school.

A former student says: "Salem's fair play doesn't apply to society at large." Another says: "Even feeling special doesn't help."

But Dr Bueb is convinced that young people who have attended a school like Salem are better equipped to face life.

He concedes that there are no statistics on how many Salem graduates have made it in later life. But he is certain that preparing students for life in a large society is better done in boarding schools than in the small family of today.

He stresses that much depends on the individual: "Do you think any of our staff members would stay in Salem if they were not convinced that our educational model is extremely important for our students' futures? Would a Salem graduate send his own children to our school if he didn't agree with us?"

Siegfried Krause

(Rheinische Post, 15 October 1983)

Continued from page 10

[whi]ch the self-destructive aspect of the ... century might not be surmounted, ... the horror of it all was perceived in a ... [favou]rable light.

[O]n this basis alone could a new trans[latio]n of the Old Testament be envis[age]d.

None of the many new translations of ... Bible, for Protestants, Catholics and ... young, were condemned, but the ex[per]ts were not satisfied with them either. The outcome of the conference is best ... [exp]ressed by quoting Professor Lohfink, ... said:

"I could imagine us regaining interna[tion]al terms of reference from Luther's ... translation if what the Bible meant ... to take shape among us over and ... [abo]ve linguistic history."

Heiner Oelmann

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 October 1983)

Tree deaths

Continued from page 9

mosphere via exhaust fumes. You can't see them, you can't hear them, no-one feels them and no-one measures them.

This is a point clearly made in the VDI report. The experts who compiled it voice their doubts about the conventional theories as to why trees are dying.

Acid rain, they say, is by no means as harmful as acid fog, which has so far gone largely unnoticed.

They try instead to see the soil as an extremely complex eco-system in which acid can be both a fertiliser and a toxin.

Light, they point out, is not just a source of life. It can also, as any photochemist knows, be a source of toxic energy that is the death of more than just fir trees.

Why, one wonders, have events only lately taken such a dramatic turn? The reader comes up with one question after another, regardless whether or not he is at ease with chemical formulas.

A reporter asks the assembled experts what conclusions must be drawn from the report.

What action can be taken as a counterweight to the acid rain which, incidentally, was 100 to 1,000 times more acid in the industrial cities of Britain in 1872 than it is in Duisburg today?

The VDI experts say this is an impermissible simplification of the problem. They have no intention of apportioning blame or of staging witchhunts.

But it is soon apparent that the only option, either nationally or internationally, is no longer to view the air as a freely available commodity.

The air we breathe must no longer be freely available as a dustbin for everyone and a resting-place for dust or gases of one kind or another.

Asked what specific action they suggest, the technicians are reluctant to commit themselves. All counter-measures, they say, entail expense and restrictions.

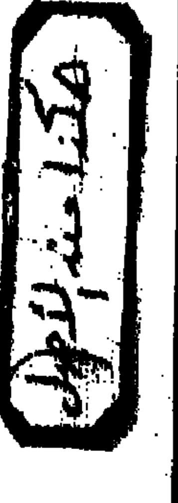
The nitric oxide emission of car engines could be drastically reduced, Herr Prinz says, if we were to impose autobahn speed limits or make fuel lead-free.

There are ways and means that scientists could suggest, but it was up to the politicians, he said, to decide what action was actually taken.

What, he asked, do we have them for? What indeed!

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 October 1983)



■ SPACE RESEARCH

Economic motives prompted setting up of Hamburg observatory 150 years ago

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Astronomers have never found it easy to raise funds for their research work. Their science was long felt to be an unprofitable one. It still retains something of this reputation.

It was bound to be viewed with mixed feelings in a city like Hamburg with its appreciation of thrift and keen eye for profit.

So it is surprising that the parliament of what was then still an independent city-state decided 150 years ago, on 31 October 1833, to set up a civic observatory.

From modest beginnings it has grown into one of the leading astronomical research facilities in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This month, its sesquicentennial month, has seen several events to commemorate the anniversary.

Little is left of the frankly economic motives that prompted Hamburg businessmen to invest in the project on the city's behalf.

Overseas traders expected the observatory to benefit first and foremost the city's merchant navy, supplying information for navigation and timing.

These were classical astronomical activities that for millenia had often prompted people to keep track of the stars.

The first head of the observatory was, not surprisingly, a navigation instructor, Charles Rümker. He had previously run the municipal navigation college.

Until well into the 20th century astronomical navigation was the only way ships and later planes on the high seas, far away from landmarks, could determine their precise position.

They went by the stars, and exact observation was essential to be able to tell well in advance what the night sky would look like at any given time.

Every ship had on board (and still does, for safety's sake) astronomical almanacs that lay down the precise details in advance.

Navigating by the stars also presupposed knowledge of the exact time. Until a few years ago the earth's rotation was the sole basis of measuring time.

The earth's rotation can only be checked accurately by observing the Sun and stars. So it is no less surprising that timekeeping was another important activity for the newly-founded observatory.

From 1876 the observatory triggered a timepiece at 12 noon GMT daily in the port of Hamburg. Captains used to set their ships' clocks by this daily event.

The instruments with which the observatory was equipped were naturally for use in these practical contexts, and these tasks remain an important part of its work.

Yet navigation and timekeeping have been concentrated in other research facilities with progressive standardisation.

In the Federal Republic of Germany standard time is kept by a research institute in Brunswick.

Positional astronomy was the next major sphere in which Rümker's successors, his son George, then Richard Schorr, specialised.

The precise measurement of the position of the stars was a laborious but successful part of their work. The positions of tens of thousands of stars were taken and catalogued.

From 1967 to 1972 a team of astronomers sent out by the Hamburg observatory took readings of the southern sky in Perth, Australia. They left their equipment behind when their mission was over.

Instruments have always had to be moved around. Originally the observatory was near the port. In 1912, after six years' construction work, it moved to a new home in Bergedorf, then a village outside the city.

Now Bergedorf is an urban borough and the observatory buildings are so hemmed in that practical observations are growing steadily more difficult.

So many items of equipment are now housed elsewhere. Some, for instance, are in Chile, where the European southern observatory is in the Atacama desert.

Others are at the Max Planck observatory on Calar Alto in southern Spain.

Research priorities have also changed. Positional astronomy is nowadays only a part of the observatory's work. It has been joined by satellite tracking and by observation of the galaxies and related issues of the make-up of the universe and how it came into being.

Otto Heckmann, the observatory's fourth director and director-general of the European southern observatory, was responsible for epoch-making work.

So was his colleague Walter Bande, who spent much of his career teaching in the United States.

But the Bergedorf observatory made a special name for itself with the work of an outsider, the brilliant optician Bernhard Schmidt.

Schmidt worked there from 1926 and used primitive aids to devise an epoch-making optical telescope that bears his name.

The Schmidt telescope is still the workhorse of observatories all over the world when it comes to lengthy exposure of particularly weak stars and galaxies.

He devised a sophisticated correction plate: a kind of lens set up in front of a mirror that makes possible an amazingly clear and undistorted image.

He was instrumental in earning the observatory an international reputation.

After 150 years of work the observatory, now a department of Hamburg University, can look back on a century and a half of successful activity.

By a quirk of coincidence another astronomical institution in the city has a special accomplishment to offer virtually in honour of the anniversary.

Hamburg planetarium, the oldest in the Federal Republic of Germany, has just reopened with a real attraction: the most up-to-date and best-equipped projector in the world.

While the observatory observes and takes readings of the stars, the planetarium uses an extremely complicated projector to project a replica of the night sky on to the inside of its dome roof.

The observatory's role is mainly a research one, the planetarium's mainly an educational one.

The new Carl Zeiss projector, the Model VI, can do virtually everything. It can project nearly 8,000 stars, and they glitter and flicker true to life.

It can be moved in any direction and show the course of the planets, Sun and Moon over a period of several thousand years.

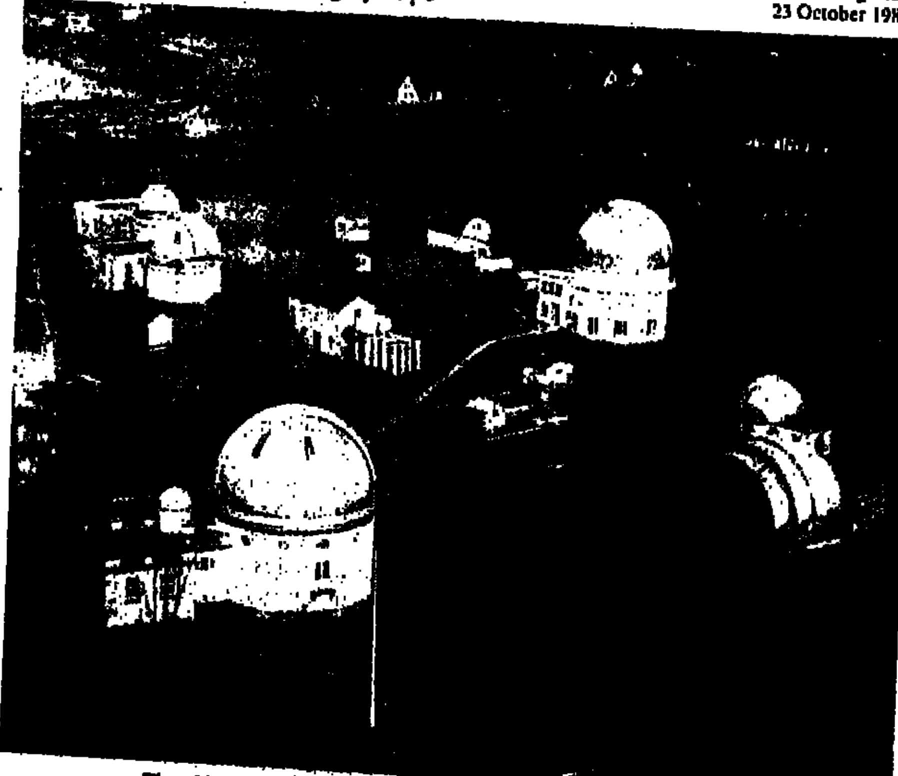
It can project replica solar eclipses and much more. The Model VI can mock up in seconds situations the observatory has had to man expeditions to see in real life.

Hamburg today has long ceased to be the city-state and merchants' republic it was 150 years ago. It is now the largest seaport and largest industrial city in the Federal Republic of Germany.

But it remains as well disposed toward astronomy and ready to support it as it was in 1833.

Joachim W. Ekrutt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 23 October 1983)



The Hamburg observatory ... made a name for itself.

(Photo: dpa, Luftbild freig. Nr. 211767)



Kurt Debus ... scientist and ... ver.

(Photo: ...)

Missile pioneer Kurt Debus dies at 74

Kurt Debus, who has died ... his Cocoa Beach home ... Canaveral Florida, was a missile ... and veteran of wartime rocket ... ment in Peenemünde in the Baltic ...

Like Wernher von Braun, ... four years his junior, he left Ge... for America just after the war ... intimately associated with the de... ment of Nasa and US space ... programmes.

He was born on 29 November ... Frankfurt, where his father was ... nessman. Naively keeen on tech... like many of his generation, he ... have designed and built a radio ... his own at the age of 14.

He qualified as an engineer at ... stadt technical college in 193... years later he wrote a PhD thes... gained his first acquaintanceship ... the rocket trials in Peenemünde ... still a junior lecturer in Darmstadt ...

From 1942 until the war's end ... a test engineer at the Wehrmacht ... search establishment in Peene... He was closely associated with ... were hailed by German propaganda ... wonder weapons.

The V1 and V2 were rockets of ... he was finally in charge as chief ... gineer. The first V1 was launched ... June 1944, the first V2, the world's ... medium-range missile, on 6 Septe... 1944.

Like many German rocket pioneers ... headed for the United States in ... After an intermezzo in the dese... New Mexico he worked as fire ... the US Army Ballistic Missile Ag... Huntsville, Alabama.

There, working in a position ... his job at Peenemünde, he helped ... up America's guided missile and ... programme.

Under his supervision the first ... C rocket was launched from Cape ... naveral on 19 May 1956. It was fo... 14 months later by America's first ... tal satellite, the Explorer I.

Alongside Wernher von Braun, ... Debus was responsible for the first ... manned space mission in 1961 ...

He became an American citizen ... 1959 and until he retired in 197... ed a breathtaking career.

In 1960 he was put in charge of ... Nasa's rocket launchings. In 196... was appointed director of what was ... the John F. Kennedy Space Center ...

Continued on page 13

■ MEDICINE

...w drying-out treatment ...r alcoholics

...spital at Freudenberg, in the ...ck Forest, has developed a new ...nt for alcoholics that is said to be ...ore effective and cheaper than ... methods.

... cures for alcoholism involve a ...out process for about six months ...nic far removed from a patient's ...own and from temptation.

...dvantages includes absence from ...nd separation from family. Plus ...

...denstadt district hospital takes a ...ent approach. The head of the psy...ic department, Dr Wolfgang Gru...as developed a treatment that in...s only four weeks of hospitalisa... The remainder of the six-month ...out is spent as an out patient.

...ough success rate after most cures ... per cent stay dry, 30 per cent im..., and 30 per cent slide right back ...e they began.

...denstadt post-treatment check up ... that the Gruner method beats ... Forty per cent stay dry, a third im... and the rest go back to the start.

... comes intensives care in hospi... that gets rid of the poison. Then ... the therapy. This is done in set ... of about 10 people. The group ...ds unchanged throughout the six ...ths.

...h patient is allocated a therapeutic ... to refer to. An information ... meets three times a week to dis... problems. Members of Alcoholics ...ymous attend.

...ysical exercises are held twice a ..., and there are games and films ... times a week.

The patients are free to move around from the very beginning. They may leave the hospital, first in groups and later by themselves.

Regular spot checks have shown that there are few relapses.

Dr Gruner stresses the importance of including the next-of-kin in the therapy.

Initially, this is done by talking with the patient's family. In the second half of the hospitalisation period, the patient joins in.

Dr Gruner says this brings an element of conflict into the therapy. But in most cases the patient masters the conflict. And talking it out paves the way back to the family fold.

Another important aspect is the additional training the nursing staff receives as part of the therapy groups.

Dr Gruner: "We have made a virtue out of necessity. We are so understaffed that we would otherwise have been unable to do the job."

His therapy concept could be applied anywhere. Good experience had been had in many places with untrained personnel.

But the outpatient after care was essential. Whenever possible, it should involve the same people who looked after the patient during hospitalisation.

The emphasis in the aftercare is on the self-help groups that had evolved from therapy groups in hospital.

Long-term success stood and fell with the cohesion of these groups.

Doris Gothe

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 22 October 1983)

Continued from page 12

...74 he headed the Skylab pro...me.

... was a music-lover who was repu... to have a fine sense of humour and ... a first-rate manager of men. He ... his wife Irmgard lived in Cocoa ... near the Banana River.

... the other side of the river Cape ...veral is one of the world's foremost ... launching facilities. It was partly ...andiwork.

Klaus Dallibor

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 October 1983)

Prejudice and stress take their toll of foreigners

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Foreigners in Germany who fall ill are often reluctant to take sick leave in case they lose their job and find their residence qualifications in jeopardy, a conference has been told.

The result is that they tend to work on and their illness becomes worse. In general, their jobs are demanding on the health. They are exposed to heat, dust and noise more than Germans.

More than 4m foreigners live in Germany About 1.5m are Turks.

The 10th international conference on preventive and social medicine in Mannheim heard that many doctors regarded foreigners as malingerers. The symptoms were often regarded as a result of home sickness rather than homelessness.

A Berlin social worker, J. Korporal, said the arduous nature of their work had led to a high rate of early retirement because of disability among foreigners.

They often worked where safety provisions were inadequate. Part of the reason, said Korporal, could be the impression that the strain was only temporary and that the foreigners would eventually return home.

Health problems were not limited to the breadwinner. The infant mortality rate in West Berlin was double that for Germans because of malformation, complications during pregnancy, dietary problems and metabolism disorders.

Foreign mothers did not take full advantage of antenatal care. When they did, doctors were often not as careful with them as with Germans.

Infectious diseases were twice as common among foreign children. Tuberculosis occurred rarely among Germans, but it was found among Turks.

Korporal said almost nobody had delved into the possible consequences of years of working under though conditions.

It was probable that working conditions accounted for the fact that the number of foreigners involved in work accidents was three or four times that of Germans.

The higher rate of foreigners in traffic accidents could indirectly be due to strain at work.

Foreigners accounted for only two per cent of all deaths in Germany but five per cent of traffic deaths.

Foreign workers unemployed for a long time through illness or accident found it hard to get a new job: 15 per cent never found permanent employment again.

Korporal suggested that when a doctor diagnosed the same disorder in a foreigner and a German woman the foreign woman received less satisfactory care.

Infectious diseases were twice as frequent among foreign children. Tuberculosis was still found among foreigners, but rerely among Germans.

Foreign children were more prone to accidents such as burns and poisoning from medicine.

It would be too easy to say these differences were only because of lack of information or of a reluctance to seek professional help.

Effective medical care for foreigners would presuppose more knowledge about their way of life their social structures.

But there was no publicly funded research programme researching the question.

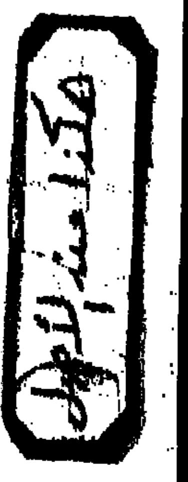
Jörg Tröger

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 October 1983)



Looking at life again

Cancer victims learn how to enjoy life again. This group in Bremen is one of several throughout the country set up to help people who have undergone cancer operations. Group therapy involves talking with each other and activities such as (in this case) playing music. (Photo: Stoss)



■ CRIME

Police want to step up use of under-cover agents

Frankfurter Rundschau

Police in West Germany want to step up the use of under-cover agents to break up organised crime.

One estimate is that organised crime costs the nation DM 122bn a year, which is about eight per cent of the gross national product.

Normal police methods have proved inadequate against crimes such as large-scale art thefts, goods stolen by the truckload, dealing in drugs and armaments, forgery, blackmail, protection rackets, illegal labour trafficking, prostitution and commercial crimes such as fraudulent dealing in commodity futures.

A report suggesting an increase of the use of under-cover agents is being looked at by the Bonn Justice Minsitry.

A spokesman said that the recommendation raised difficult and delicate legal matters.

The Bundeskriminalamt, or BKA, the German equivalent of the FBI, has already a special under-cover agent department. So has the state of Baden-Württemberg.

But others are not so keen. Schleswig-Holstein has rejected the report as being "not fully thought out."

The Interior Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, Herbert Schnoor, says there will be no under-cover agents in his State. "The police is no secret service," he says.

In Hesse, the head of the police section at the Interior Ministry, Wolf Hoerschelmann, says his state is waiting until the Bonn Justice Ministry has considered the report.

A mixed commission of police and legal experts set up in Baden-Württemberg in 1974 dealt with the question of legality of using under-cover agents against serious crime and issued recommendations in 1978.

A committee of senior Federal and State policemen known as Workshop 2 considered the report and set up of a special team headed by Alfred Stümper, head of the Baden-Württemberg state police.

Stümper's report, accepted in January by Workshop 2 (but not unanimously) has been sent to the Federal Justice Ministry in Bonn.

It said that criminal organisations could could only be broken if police maintained long-term contact with suspects.

Gathering information must involve police plants. That meant under-cover agents.

Workshop 2 forwarded the report together with the recommendation that it be quickly put into practice.

BKA's experience with under-cover agents has not always been fortunate. One was exposed after working in the Frankfurt underworld posing as a pilot for the airline Sabena.

Another is now on trial in Duisburg on charges involving blackmail, graft and other crimes. Despite this, BKA chief Heinrich Boge says the agents are necessary, though only as a last resort.

BKA had established a special under-cover department with hand-picked officers. They operated under strict control and now have to account for their movements.

Stümper quotes Baden-Württemberg figures to demonstrate under-cover efficiency. Last year alone 287 dangerous criminals were arrested and convicted through the use of under-cover agents.

Neither Boge nor Stümper see legal problems. Boge says his men are strictly forbidden to commit crimes in the line of duty.

But the Workshop 2 report differs. It says a police plant could only be effective and retain his cover if he violated the law. The agent must have a "background" and a new identity, which meant forged papers, a car with untraceable licence plates and a suitable hideout.

But the forging and use of fake documents were punishable by law, as was the establishment and registration of a mock company.

Advocates of under-cover work say they are covered by Section 34 of the criminal code governing actions in an emergency.

Section 34 allows any citizen to "violate the law if this is the only way of averting an acute danger."

Workshop 2 says: "There is always an acute danger when dealing with organised crime."

Top Federal and state p[...] consider Section 34 as an a[...] backing for the leasing of [...] der a false name, electroni[...] ping and gaining access to [...] der a pretext ("I'm from the [...] company").

Section 34 has become [...] umbrella for under-cover p[...]

Experts even consider it[...] sions as an adequate endo[...] criminal acts by under-cove[...] rected against "the common [...]

Reservations exist only ag[...] nal violations of individual [...] porters of under-cover work [...] up to the lawmakers to clarify [...]

They do, however, believe [...] infringements are justifiable [...] agents defacing facades and [...] But the report fails to mention [...] has to do with organised crime.

Workshop 2 has dug up an[...] provision on top of Section 3[...] authority" allows, among oth[...] the use of forged papers, the [...] tes.

The forging of such docum[...] lary slips is in any event on[...] significant lie in writing."

The use of under-cover age[...] of legal pitfalls. They are the[...] less of the fact that this seems [...] way of fighting organised crime.

North Rhine-Westphalia's [...] Minister Schnoor says criminal [...] police could not work with these [...] thods:

"A superior officer who allow[...] ceman to commit crimes in th[...] duty is himself guilty of derel[...] duty and could face criminal ch[...]

Karl-Heinz K[...]

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 Oc[...])

MODERN LIVING

Vexed question of broken families and access to children

[...]stody of and access to children [...]as the main topic at this year's [...]ss of family court judges and [...]rs, held in Brühl, near Cologne.

[Ab]out 450 people attended. The con[ferenc]e lasted four days. Business was [...]sed by 18 working parties.

[It] was the fifth annual conference. [It] has dealt with a special aspect of [19]77 reform of family legislation.

[...]akers have always had the knack [of pa]inting graphic pictures of incidents [illust]rating the difficulties they encoun[ter].

[On]e family court judge this year told [a t]ale of a not unusual family [tug-of]-war:

[A]n argument arises in the street out[side] the house. A child is yelling and a [wom]an constantly screaming: 'Today [the chi]ld stays here!'

[A] man pushes the child into the car [and sw]itches the engine on. As the en[gine re]vs up, the woman jumps on to the [runnin]g-board.

[W]ith her hair blowing and her dress [flapp]ing in the wind as she hangs on [for de]ar life, she looks like a caricature [of a fi]gurehead as the car makes its get[away].

[...]who is to be awarded custody of [the chi]ld? The experts find it difficult to [...]at definite criteria on which to [...] decision.

[...]y in intact families, and then not [...], do children tend to be more [...]ly attached to either their mother [or the]ir father.

[In] broken homes it is another matter. [...] its parents split up, the child can [...]e its mind completely, as for in[stance] when the father has left and ap[plied] for a divorce.

[...] judges warned against going by [what] had been the case when the family [was st]ill intact when making custody de[cision]s.

[Inst]ead they recommended taking a [...] look at the shape the family was [in at] the time the decree was granted.

[If n]eed be, the judge ought to be entit[led to] review the situation with regard to [any ch]ange in the child's needs and re[act] accordingly.

[The] Federal Constitutional Court has [ruled] that divorced parents may be [grant]ed joint custody of the children. [Thi]s was an issue dealt with in detail [in Brü]hl.

[But] the congress failed to arrive at [...]olutions. It was unlikely to do so, [...] that joint custody is a new idea of [...] the courts have no practical expe[rience].

[Wh]ile strongly in favour of the idea, [partic]ipants voiced strong misgivings. It [might] prove too much for the child, for [its pa]rents and for its "new" mother or [...]

[Besi]des, divorced couples often had [diffic]ulty in agreeing on problematic de[cision]s that needed taking in the child's [inter]est.

[So] the conference ended with two mi[...] proposals, the first being that [...] ought as a rule to award joint [custo]dy after a divorce. If they arrived at [a dif]ferent decision, they should say [...]

[Th]e second proposal was that the [...] should invariably aim at joint cus[tody,] postponing a decision if need be until long and intensive deliberations had shown it to be impossible.

This may not have been much of an outcome, but it seems reasonable to assume that in time the current ratio of custody rulings will be reversed.

At present, custody is usually awarded to one or other of the parents, with joint custody the exception. The opposite may soon be the case.

But it wasn't the judges that started the ball rolling; it was experience showing that divorced couples increasingly insist on as few changes as possible for the children after the decree.

Divorced couples seldom show such sense. Courts more often have to make orders on custody or visiting arangements.

There are constant cases of the mother being awarded custody and the father "stealing" the child or even taking it abroad.

Or the father is allowed by court order to visit his child twice a month but the mother is opposed to the idea and bolts the door whenever he calls.

Selfishness is not always the reason. It is often a case of misunderstood consideration for the child's interests.

The child may write to its father that it would sooner live with him. He then abducts the son or daughter. The child begs its mother not to let its father see it So she refuses to let him in.

What course of action is open to the judge in such a case? It was agreed that coercion often ran counter to the child's welfare, and when force was used on parents the child was almost always the loser.

So compulsory measures were in contradiction with parental duty to do nothing that might upset children's relations with them or make their upbringing more difficult.

Judges were reluctant to insist on every means of enforcing decisions taken with the child's best interests in mind.

They would like to be able to refer cases to marriage guidance councils, the aim being to avoid coercion and prevent harm to the child.

Sceptics may well wonder whether parents who defy court orders will be prepared to visit marriage guidance councils, let alone act on the advice given.

One family court judge at Brühl said that every member of the bench who considered ordering forcible separation ought to have seen for himself what it was like in practice.

He should have been an eye-witness to a child being forcibly taken from its father or mother by the police. He would then probably consider every alternative first.

An evergreen at these gatherings is the crucial issue of whether children ought to be given a court hearing in, in this instance, custody cases.

Might a court appearance not make a lasting, detrimental impression on a child of, say, pre-school age?

Might juveniles not be capable of running psychological rings round judges or of playing off one parent against the other?

A working party on this issue agreed in Brühl that children under 14 ought in principle never to appear in court in most cases.

This was assuming that the parents were agreed on the facts of the case, the youth welfare departments approved and there was no indication that the child's interests might thereby be jeopardised.

In cases of wardship the court will invariably need at least to see the child to gain, for instance, some idea of whether and to what extent it might have been neglected.

Children of pre-school age often have to be questioned regardless, so judges ought to be trained in at least the basics of child psychology.

Most state justice departments are said not to have undertaken much in this direction.

Custody was dealt with at such length and in such detail this year that less attention was paid to other issues, such as pension rights and maintenance.

Maintenance was deliberately sidestepped because, as Bonn Justice Minister Hans Engelhard put it, the government is in the process of "beefing up" the provisions.

But Bonn's proposals have yet to be submitted, so experienced with them could not be debated.

The congress had definite ideas, however, on the range of issues family courts ought to be entrusted with. It favoured a gradual extension of powers.

In the short term they should be entitled to rule on maintenance and on disputes concerning the right of access to information on a child's circumstances (a right enjoyed by the parent who is not awarded custody).

Such issues should later be joined by children's affairs and maintenance cases of the kind currently dealt with by general courts.

The congress also felt that in the long term family courts ought to be entrusted with all aspects of guardianship cases.

They might also be empowered to deal with cases in connection with engagement, marriage and marital property rights.

So the aim is clearly to look after the family from the cradle to the grave.

Rainer Klose

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 October 1983)

Words just fail to describe how silent marriage can be

The longer a couple are married, the less they have to say to each other, says a Kiel scientist who has spent six years probing the "communication behaviour" of German couples.

A straw poll at breakfast in any hotel dining-room illustrates the point. Lovers, newly-weds and long-serving couples each stick out a mile.

The first category exchange looks, share jokes and are generally good at communicating. The second are usually engaged in long and serious discussions.

Couples with 10 or 15 years' wedlock behind them tend to be as silent as the grave, grimly eyeing the others and, at the most, exchanging caustic comments about them.

Professor H. W. Jürgens says that after two years together couples still spend about 30 minutes a day talking to each other.

After four years they cut it down to 15 minutes. After eight years they have virtually nothing more to say to each other.

Does marriage make you speechless? Professor Jürgens' findings would seem to permit no other conclusion, and an explanation is easily found.

The longer a couple have lived together, the more they have already discussed any problems and issues that may arise, be they personal or general.

Each knows exactly what the other thinks and is likely to say on any given issue.

Many older couples who still have a great deal to say to each other show that this doesn't have to be the case. But it is usually the wife who takes the initiative.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 22 October 1983)

Minister wants censorship of video cassettes

Video cassettes should be censored, says the North Rhine-Westphalian Justice Minister, Inge Donnepp. Violence in the media was one reason for an increasing rate of child bashing.

Frau Donnepp said makers and distributors of video films had a lot to answer for but there was little the law could do.

Between 700 and 900 people a year were sentenced in North Rhine-Westphalia for child bashing. But the number of convictions was down.

Last year there were 71 convictions, of which 493 were in connection with sex offences.

There were 152 cases of grievous bodily harm and 29 of maltreatment of children entrusted to an adult's care.

Twelve people were sentenced in cases where children had died, including four of child murder. The figures were representative.

Frau Donnepp noted that police statistics did not reveal the exact number of juvenile victims. A single child was involved in only 515 cases.

In 123 cases two children were involved, in 61 between three and five children and in 11 more than six children. But she felt the true figure was much higher.

Only about 10 to 20 per cent of cases were reported to the police. In many cases a parent or guardian was involved, with the result that the child said nothing for fear or shame.

Above all, the child had no idea who it could turn to. Family circumstances were one contributory factor, violence in the media another.

The manufacturers and purveyors of video cassettes had a lot to answer for, and there was little the law could do to remedy matters.

By the time the authorities were called in the baby had gone down with the bath water and the harm had already been done.

Frau Donnepp said local authorities ought to hire lawyers to keep an eye on children's affairs. She would like to see video cassettes cleared by a panel before being released for sale or hire.

rtr

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 October 1983)